# MISCELLANEA,

## *VIZ.*

1. A Survey of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the *Empire*, *Sueden*, *Denmark*, *Spain*, *Holland*, *France* and *Flanders*; with their Relation to *England* in the Year 1671.
2. An Eſſay upon the Original and Nature of Government.
3. An Eſſay upon the Advancement of Trade in *Ireland*.
4. Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in *October*, 1673.
5. Upon the Exceſſes of Grief.
6. An Eſſay upon the Cure of the *Gout*, by *Moxa*.

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By Sir *William Temple*, Baronet.

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Printed for *Jacob Tonſon* within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane, and *Awnſham* and *John Churchill* at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*. 1705.

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# OBSERVATIONS
## UPON THE
# *United Provinces*
## OF THE
# NETHERLANDS.

*By Sir* WILLIAM TEMPLE *of* Shene *in the County of* Surrey, *Baronet, Ambaſſador at the* Hague *and at* Aix la-Chapelle, *in the Year* 1668.

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Corrected and Augmented.

*LONDON*,
Printed for *Jacob Tonſon* within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane, and *Awnſham* and *John Churchill* at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*. 1705.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

# THE PREFACE.

*HAving lately ſeen the State of the* United Provinces, *after a prodigious Growth in Riches, Beauty, Extent of Commerce, and Number of Inhabitants, arriv'd at length to ſuch a height, (by the Strength of their Navies, their fortify'd Towns, and ſtanding-Forces, with a conſtant Revenue, proportion'd to the Support of all this Greatneſs,) as made them the Envy of ſome, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.*

*We have, this Summer paſt, beheld the ſame State, in the midſt of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength, and Vigour, almoſt ruin'd and broken to pieces, in ſome few Days, and by very few Blows; and reduc'd in a manner to its firſt Principles of Weakneſs, and*

*Diſtreſs; expos'd, oppreſs'd, and very near at Mercy. Their Inland Provinces ſwallow'd up by an Invaſion, almoſt as ſudden, and unreſiſted, as the Inundations to which the others are ſubject. And the Remainders of their State rather kept alive by Neglect, or Diſconcert of its Enemies, than by any Strength of Nature, or Endeavours at its own Recovery.*

*Now, becauſe ſuch a Greatneſs and ſuch a Fall of this State ſeem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and hardly conceiv'd, even by thoſe who have lately ſeen them; I thought it might be worth an idle Man's time, to give ſome Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commonwealth, The Cauſes of their Greatneſs; And the Steps towards their Fall: Which were all made by Motions, perhaps, little taken Notice of by common Eyes, and almoſt undiſcernable to any Man, that was not placed to the beſt Advantage, and ſomething concern'd, as well as much enclin'd, to obſerve them.*

*The uſual Duty of Employments abroad, impoſed not only by Cuſtom, but by Orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare ſome formal Account of this*

*Coun-*

*Country and Government, after Two Years Embassy, in the midst of great Conjunctures and Negotiations among them. And such a Revolution as has since happen'd there, though it may have made these Discourses little important to His Majesty, or His Council; yet it will not have render'd them less agreeable to common Eyes, who, like Men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, though they would not look out of their Windows, to see it in a Calm.*

*Besides, at a Time when the Actions of this Scene take up, so generally, the Eyes and Discourses of their Neighbours; and the Maps of their Country grow so much in request: I thought a Map of their State and Government would not be unwelcome to the World, since it is full as necessary as the others, to understand the late Revolutions, and Changes among them. And as no Man's Story can be well written 'till he is dead; so the Account of this State could not be well given 'till its Fall, which may justly be Dated from the Events of last Summer, (whatever Fortunes may farther attend them,) since therein we have seen the sudden and violent Dissolution*

*lution of that more Popular Govern-ment, which had continu'd, and made ſo much Noiſe, for above Twenty Years, in the World, without the Exerciſe, or Influence, of the Authority of the Prin-ces of* Orange, *a Part ſo Eſſential in the firſt Conſtitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly loſe my Pains in this Adventure, when I ſhall gain the Eaſe of Anſwering this way, at once, thoſe many Queſtions I have lately been uſed to, upon this Occaſion: Which made me firſt obſerve, and wonder, how igno-rant we were, generally, in the Affairs and Conſtitutions of a Country, ſo much in our Eye, the common Road of our Travels, as well as Subject of our Talk, and which we have been of late, not on-ly curious, but concern'd, to know.*

*I am very ſenſible, how ill a Trade it is to write, where much is ventur'd, and little can be gain'd; ſince whoever does it ill is ſure of Contempt; and the juſt-lieſt that can be, when no Man provokes him to diſcover his own Follies, or to trouble the World: If he writes well, he raiſes the Envy of thoſe Wits that are poſſeſs'd of the Vogue, and are jealous of their Preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in State; and have found,*

*that*

*that the neareſt way to their own Reputation lies, right or wrong, by the Deriſion of other Men. But, however, I am not in Pain, for 'tis the Affectation of Praiſe, that makes the Fear of Reproach; and I write without other Deſign than of entertaining very idle Men, and, among them, my ſelf. For I muſt confeſs, that being wholly uſeleſs to the Publick; and unacquainted with the Cares of encreaſing Riches, (which buſie the World:) Being grown cold to the Pleaſures of younger or livelier Men; and having ended the Entertainments of Building and Planting, (which uſe to ſucceed them;) finding little Taſte in common Converſation, and Trouble in much Reading, from the Care of my Eyes, (ſince an Illneſs contracted by many unneceſſary Diligences in my Employments abroad;) there can hardly be found an idler Man than I; nor conſequently, one more excuſable for giving way to ſuch Amuſements as this: Having nothing to do, but to enjoy the Eaſe of a private Life and Fortune; which, as I know no Man envies, ſo (I thank God) no Man can reproach.*

*I am not ignorant, that the Vein of Reading never ran lower than in this Age;*

*Age; and ſeldom goes farther than the Deſign of raiſing a Stock to furniſh ſome Calling, or Converſation. The Deſire of Knowledge being either laugh'd out of Doors, by the Wit that pleaſes the Age, or beaten out by Intereſt that ſo much poſſeſſes it: And the Amuſement of Books, giving way to the Liberties or Refinements of Pleaſure, that were formerly leſs known, or leſs avowed, than now. Yet ſome there will always be found in the World, who ask no more at their idle Hours, than to forget themſelves. And, whether that be brought about by Drink or Play, by Love or Buſineſs, or by ſome Diverſions, as idle as this, 'tis all a caſe.*

*Beſides, it may poſſibly fall out, at one time or other, that ſome Prince, or great Miniſter, may not be ill pleas'd in theſe kind of Memorials, (upon ſuch a Subject,) to trace the ſteps of Trade and Riches, of Order and Power in a State, and thoſe likewiſe of weak, or violent Counſels; of corrupt, or ill, Conduct; of Faction or Obſtinacy, which decay and diſſolve the firmeſt Governments: That ſo, by Reflections upon Foreign Events, they may provide the better and the earlier againſt thoſe at home,*

*home, and raiſe their own Honour and Happineſs, by equal degrees with the Proſperity and Safety of the Nations they govern.*

*For, under favour of thoſe who would paſs for Wits in our Age, by ſaying things, which* David *tells us, the Fool ſaid in His: And ſet up with bringing thoſe Wares to Market, which* (GOD *knows*) *have been always in the World, though kept up in corners, becauſe they us'd to mark their Owners, in former Ages, with the Names of* Buffoons, Prophane, *or* Impudent, Men; *who deride all Form and Order, as well as Piety and Truth; and, under the Notion of Fopperies, endeavour to diſſolve the very Bonds of all Civil Society; though by the Favour and Protection thereof, they themſelves enjoy ſo much greater Proportions of Wealth, and of Pleaſures, than would fall to their ſhare, if all lay in common, as they ſeem to deſign, (for then ſuch Poſſeſſions would belong of right to the ſtrongeſt and braveſt among us.)*

*Under favour of ſuch Men, I believe it will be found, at one time or other, by all who ſhall try, That whilſt Human Nature continues what it is, The ſame*

Orders

*Orders in State, The ſame Diſcipline in Armies, The ſame Reverence for things Sacred, And Reſpect of Civil Inſtitutions, The ſame Virtues and Diſpoſitions of Princes and Magiſtrates, deriv'd by Intereſt, or Imitation, into the Cuſtoms and Humours of the People, will ever have the ſame Effects upon the Strength and Greatneſs of all Governments, and upon the Honour and Authority of thoſe that Rule, as well as the Happineſs and Safety of thoſe that obey.*

*Nor are we to think Princes themſelves Loſers, or leſs entertain'd, when we ſee them employ their Time, and their Thoughts, in ſo uſeful Speculations, and to ſo Glorious Ends: But that rather, thereby they attain their true Prerogative of being Happier, as well as Greater, than Subjects can be. For all the Pleaſures of Senſe, that any Man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private Fortune, and ordinary Contrivance; Grow fainter with Age, and duller with Uſe; Muſt be revived with Intermiſſions, and wait upon the returns of Appetite, which are no more at Call of the Rich, than the Poor. The Flaſhes of Wit and good Humour, that riſe from the Vapours of Wine,*

*are*

*are little different from those that proceed from the heats of Blood in the first Approaches of Fevers, or Frenzies; and are to be valued, but as (indeed) they are, the Effects of Distemper. But the Pleasures of Imagination, as they heighten and refine the very Pleasures of Sense, so they are of larger Extent, and longer Duration. And if the most sensual Man will confess there is a Pleasure in Pleasing, He must likewise allow, there is Good to a Man's Self, in doing Good to others; And the further this extends the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is Beauty in Order; and there are Charms in well-deserved Praise: And both are the greater, by how much greater the Subject; As the first appearing in a well-framed and well-governed State; And the other arising from Noble and Generous Actions. Nor can any Veins of good Humour be greater than those, that swell by the Success of wise Counsels, and by the fortunate Events of publick Affairs; since a Man that takes pleasure in doing good to Ten Thousand, must needs have more, than he that takes none, but in doing Good to Himself.*

*But*

*But these Thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpose: Therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my Head, concerning the State of the* United-Provinces.

*And whereas the Greatness of their Strength, and Revenues, grew out of the Vastness of their Trade, into which their Religion, their Manners, and Dispositions, their Situation, and the Form of their Government, were the chief Ingredients. And this last had been raised, partly upon an old Foundation, and partly with Materials brought together by many and various Accidents; it will be necessary for the Survey of this great Frame, to give some Account of the Rise and Progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable Occasions of the first, and Periods of the other. To discover the Nature and Constitutions of their Government in its several Parts, and the Motions of it, from the first and smallest Wheels. To observe, what is peculiar to them in their Situation, or Dispositions: And what in their Religion. To take a Survey of their Trade, and the Causes of it: Of the Forces and Revenues, which composed their Greatness;*

*neſs: And the Circumſtances, and Conjunctures, which conſpired to their Fall. And theſe are the Heads, that ſhall make the Order and Arguments in the ſeveral Parts of theſe Obſervations.*

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The

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CHAP.

# CHAP. I.

## *Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the* United Provinces.

WHoever will take a View of the Riſe of this Commonwealth, muſt trace it up as high as the firſt Commotions in the *Seventeen Provinces*, under the Dutcheſs of *Parma*'s Government; and the true Cauſes of that more avowed and general Revolt in the Duke of *Alva*'s time. And, to find out the Natural Springs of thoſe Revolutions, muſt reflect upon that ſort of Government under which the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces lived for ſo many Ages paſt, in the Subjection of their ſeveral Dukes or Counts, 'till by Marriages, Succeſſions or Conqueſt, they came to be united in the Houſe of *Burgundy*, under *Philip* Sirnamed *The Good*: And afterwards in that of *Auſtria*, under *Philip* Father of *Charles*

in the Perſon of that great Emperor incorporated with thoſe vaſt Dominions of *Germany* and *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Indies*.

Nor will it be from the Purpoſe upon this Search, to run a little higher into the Antiquities of theſe Countries: For though moſt Men are contented only to ſee a River as it runs by them, and talk of the Changes in it, as they happen; when 'tis troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the Country in a Flood, or forſakes it in a Drowth: Yet he that would know the Nature of the Water, and the Cauſes of thoſe Accidents, (ſo as to gueſs at their Continuance or Return) muſt find out its Source, and obſerve with what Strength it riſes, what Length it runs, and how many ſmall Streams fall in, and feed it to ſuch a Height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the Eye, and uſeful or dangerous to the Country about it.

The Numbers and Fury of the Northern Nations, under many different Names, having by ſeveral Inundations broken down the whole frame of the *Roman* Empire, extended in their Provinces as far as the *Rhine*; either gave

a birth, or made way for the ſeveral Kingdoms and Principalities, that have ſince continu'd in the Parts of *Europe* on this ſide that River, which made the ancient Limits of the *Gallick* and *German* Nations. The Tract of Land, which we uſually call the *Low-Countries*, was ſo waſted by the Invaſions or Marches of this raging People, (who paſs'd by them to greater Conqueſts) that the Inhabitants grew thin; and being ſecure of nothing they poſſeſs'd, fell to ſeek the Support of their Lives, rather by Hunting, or by Violence, than by Labour and Induſtry; and thereby the Grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the courſe of Years turned either to Foreſt, or Marſhes; which are the two natural Soils of all deſolated Lands in the more temperate Regions. For by ſoaking of frequent Showers, and the courſe of Waters from the higher into lower Grounds, when there is no Iſſue that helps them to break out into a Channel, the flat Land grows to be a mixture of Earth and Water, and neither of common uſe nor paſſage to Man or Beaſts, which is call'd a Marſh. The higher, and ſo the drier, Parts, moiſten'd by the Rain, and warm'd by the Sun,

ſhoot forth ſome ſorts of Plants, as naturally as Bodies do ſome ſort of Hair, which, being preſerv'd by the Deſolateneſs of a Place untrodden, as well as untill'd, grow to ſuch Trees or Shrubs as are natural to the Soil, and thoſe in time producing both Food and Shelter for ſeveral kind of Beaſts, make the ſort of Country we call a *Foreſt*.

And ſuch was *Flanders* for many Years before *Charlemaign*'s time, when the Power of the *Francs*, having rais'd and eſtabliſh'd a great Kingdom of their own, upon the entire Conqueſt of *Gaul*, began to reduce the Diſorders of that Country to the form of a Civil, or (at leaſt) Military Government; to make Diviſions and Diſtributions of Lands and Juriſdictions, by the Bounty of the Prince, or the Services of his chief Followers and Commanders: To one of whom a great Extent of this Land was given, with the Title of *Foreſter of Flanders*. This Office continu'd for ſeveral Deſcents, and began to civilize the Country, by repreſſing the Violence of Robbers and Spoilers, who infeſted the Woody and Faſt Places, and by encouraging the milder People to fall into Civil Societies, to truſt to their Induſtry

ſtry for Subſiſtence, to Laws for Protection, and to their Arms united under the Care and Conduct of their Governors, for Safety and Defence.

In the time of *Charlemaign*, as ſome write; or, as others, in that of *Charles the Bald*, *Flanders* was erected into a County, which chang'd the Title of *Foreſter* for that of *Count*, without interrupting the Succeſſion.

What the Extent of this County was at firſt, or how far the Juriſdiction of *Foreſters* reach'd, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only border'd upon, or included, the lower Parts of the vaſt Woods of *Ardenne*, which, in *Charlemaign's* time, was all Foreſt as high as *Aix*, and the rough Country for ſome Leagues beyond it, and was us'd commonly by that Emperor for his Hunting: This appears by the ancient Records of that City, which attribute the Diſcovery, or, at leaſt, retrieving the knowledge of thoſe hot Baths, to the Fortune of that Prince, while he was Hunting: For his Horſe poching one of his Legs into ſome hollow Ground, made way for the ſmoaking Water to break out, and gave occaſion for the Emperor's building that City, and ma-

king it his uſual Seat, and the Place of Coronation for the following Emperors.

*Holland*, being an Iſland made by the dividing Branches of the ancient *Rhine*, and call'd formerly *Batavia*, was eſteemed rather a Part of *Germany* than *Gaul*, (between which it was ſeated) in regard of its being planted by the *Catti*, a great and ancient People of *Germany*, and was treated by the *Romans* rather as an Allied than a Subjected Province; who drew from thence no other Tribute beſides Bands of Soldiers, much eſteemed for their Valour, and join'd as Auxiliaries to their Legions in their *Gallick*, *German*, and *Britiſh* Wars.

'Tis probable, this Iſland chang'd in a great meaſure Inhabitants and Cuſtoms, as well as Names, upon the Inroads of the barbarous Nations, but chiefly of the *Normans* and *Danes*, from whoſe Countries and Language the Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* ſeem to be deriv'd. But about the Year 860, a Son of the Count of *Frize*, by a Daughter of the Emperor *Lewis* the Second, was by him inſtituted Count of *Holland*, and gave Beginning to that Title; which, running ſince that time through ſo many direct

direct or collateral Succeſſions and ſome Uſurpations, came to an end at laſt in *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, by the Defection of the *United Provinces*.

Under theſe firſt *Foreſters* and *Counts*, who began to take thoſe waſted Countries and mixed People into their Care, and to intend the Growth, Strength, and Riches of their Subjects, which they eſteemed to be their own: Many old and demoliſh'd Caſtles were re-built, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to thoſe of their Subjects or Friends, whom they moſt lov'd or eſteem'd, with large Circuits of Lands for their Support, and Seigneurial Juriſdiction over the Inhabitants. And this upon ſeveral eaſie Conditions, but chiefly of Attendance on their Prince at the neceſſary times of either honouring him in Peace, or ſerving him in War. Nay poſſibly, ſome of theſe Seigneuries and their Juriſdictions, may, as they pretend, have been the Remains of ſome old Principalities in thoſe Countries among the *Gallick* and *German* Nations, the firſt Inſtitutions whereof were loſt in the Immenſity of Time that preceded the *Roman* Diſcoveries or Conqueſt, and might be deriv'd perhaps from the firſt

Paternal Dominion, or Concurrence of looſe People into orderly Neighbourhoods, with a Deference, if not Subjection, to the wiſeſt or braveſt among them.

Under the ſame Counts were either founded or reſtored many Cities and Towns; of which the old had their ancient Freedoms and Juriſdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the New had either the ſame granted to them by example of the others, or great Immunities and Privileges for the Encouragement of Inhabitants to come and people in them: All theſe Conſtitutions agreeing much in Subſtance perhaps by Imitation, or elſe by the agreeing Nature of the People, for whom, or by whom, they were framed, but differing in Form according to the difference of their Original, or the ſeveral Natures, Cuſtoms and Intereſts of the Princes, whoſe Conceſſions many of them were, and all their Permiſſions.

Another Conſtitution which entred deep into their Government, may be deriv'd from another Source. For thoſe *Northern* Nations, whoſe unknown Language and Countries perhaps made them be call'd *Barbarous*, (though indeed almoſt all Nations out of *Italy* and

*Greece*

*Greece* were ſtyled ſo by the *Romans*,) but whoſe Victories in obtaining new Seats, and Orders in poſſeſſing them, might make us allow them for a better policy'd People, than they appear'd by the Vaſtneſs of their Multitude, or the Rage of their Battels.

Wherever they paſs'd, and ſeated their Colonies and Dominions, they left a Conſtitution which has ſince been called, in moſt *European* Languages, *The States*; conſiſting of Three Orders, *Noble*, *Eccleſiaſtical*, and *Popular*, under the limited Principality of One Perſon, with the Style of *King*, *Prince*, *Duke*, or *Count*. The Remainders, at leaſt, or Traces hereof, appear ſtill in all the Principalities founded by thoſe People in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*; and were of a piece with the preſent Conſtitutions in moſt of the great Dominions on t'other ſide of the *Rhine*: And it ſeems to have been a Temper firſt introduc'd by them between the Tyranny of the Eaſtern Kingdoms, and the Lib rty of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Commonwealths.

'Tis true, the *Goths* were Gentiles when they firſt broke into the *Roman* Empire, 'till one great ſwarm of this People,

People, upon Treaty with one of the *Roman* Emperors, and upon Conceſſions of a great Tract of Land to be a Seat for their Nation, embraced at once the Chriſtian Faith. After which, the ſame People breaking out of the Limits had been allowed them, and by freſh Numbers bearing all down where they bent their March; as they were a great means of propagating Religion in many Parts of *Europe* where they extended their Conqueſts; ſo the Zeal of theſe new Proſelytes, warmed by the Veneration they had for their Biſhops and Paſtors, and enriched by the Spoils and Poſſeſſions of ſo vaſt Countries, ſeem to have been the Firſt that introduced the Maintenance of the Churches and Clergy, by Endowments of Lands, Lordſhips, and Vaſſals, appropriated to them: For before this time the Authority of the Prieſthood in all Religions ſeem'd wholly to conſiſt in the Peoples Opinion of their Piety, Learning, or Virtues, or a Reverence for their Character and Myſtical Ceremonies and Inſtitutions; their Support, or their Revenues, in the voluntary Oblations of pious Men, the Bounty of Princes, or in a certain ſhare out

of

of the Labours and Gains of thoſe who liv'd under their Cure, and not in any Subjection of Mens Lives or Fortunes, which belonged wholly to the Civil Power: And *Amminianus*, though he taxes the Luxury of the Biſhops in *Valentinian*'s time, yet he ſpeaks of their Riches, which occaſioned or fomented it, as ariſing wholly from the Oblations of the People. But the Devotion of theſe new Chriſtians introducing this new form of endowing their Churches; and afterwards *Pepin* and *Charlemaign* King of the *Francs*, upon their Victories in *Italy*, and the favour of the *Roman* Biſhop to their Title and Arms, having annexed great Territories and Juriſdictions to that See: This Example, or Cuſtom, was followed by moſt Princes of the Northern Races through the reſt of *Europe*, and brought into the Clergy great Poſſeſſions of Lands, and by a neceſſary Conſequence a great ſhare of a Temporal Power, from the dependances of their Subjects or Tenants; by which means they came to be generally One of the Three Orders that compos'd the Aſſembly of the States in every Country.

This Conſtitution of the States had been

been eſtabliſh'd from time immemorial in the ſeveral Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and was often aſſembled for determining Diſputes about Succeſſion of their Princes, where doubtful or conteſted; For deciding thoſe between the great Towns; For raiſing a Milice for the Defence of their Countries in the Wars of their Neighbours; For Advice in time of Dangers abroad, or Diſcontents at home; But always upon the new Succeſſion of a Prince, and upon any new Impoſitions that were neceſſary on the People. The Uſe of this Aſſembly was another of thoſe Liberties, whereof the Inhabitants of theſe Provinces were ſo fond and ſo tenacious. The reſt, beſides thoſe ancient Privileges already mention'd of their Towns, were Conceſſions and Graces of ſeveral Princes; in particular, Exemptions or Immunities, Juriſdiction both in Choice and Exerciſe of Magiſtracy and Civil Judicature within themſelves; or elſe in the Cuſtoms of uſing none but Natives in Charges and Offices, and paſſing all weighty Affairs by the great Council compoſed of the great Lords of the Country, who were in a manner all Temporal, there being but

but Three Biſhops in all the Seventeen Provinces, 'till the Time of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*.

The Revenues of theſe Princes conſiſted in their ancient Demeſnes, in ſmall Cuſtoms, (which yet grew conſiderable by the greatneſs of Trade in the Maritime Towns,) and in the voluntary Contributions of their Subjects, either in the States or in particular Cities, according to the Neceſſities of their Prince, or the Affections of the People. Nor were theſe frequent; for the Forces of theſe Counts were compos'd of ſuch Lords, who either by their Governments, or other Offices, or by the Tenure of their Lands, were oblig'd to attend their Prince on Horſeback, with certain Numbers of Men, upon all his Wars: Or elſe of a Milice, which was call'd *Les gens d'ordonnance*, who ſerved on foot, and were not unlike our Train-bands; the Uſe, or at leaſt Style whereof, was renewed in *Flanders* upon the laſt War with *France* in 1667, when the Count *Egmont* was made by the Governor, General *de gens d'ordonnance*.

Theſe Forces were defrayed by the Cities or Countries, as the others were raiſed

raiſed by the Lords when occaſion required; and all were licenſed immediately when it was paſt, ſo that they were of little Charge to the Prince. His Wars were but with other Princes of his own Size, or Competitors to his Principality; or ſometimes with the Munities of his great Towns; ſhort, though violent; and decided by one Battel or Siege; unleſs they fell into the Quarrels between *England* and *France*, and then they were engaged but in the Skirts of the War, the groſs of it being waged between the two Kings, and theſe ſmaller Princes made uſe of for the Credit of Alliance, or ſometimes the Commodiouſneſs of a Diverſion, rather than for any great Weight they made in the Main of the Affair.

The moſt frequent Wars of the Counts of *Holland* were with the *Frizons*, a Part of the old *Saxons*; and the fierceſt Battels of ſome of the Counts of *Flanders* were with the *Normans*, who paſs'd that way into *France*, and were the laſt of thoſe Nations that have infeſted the more Southern Parts of *Europe*. I have ſometimes thought, how it ſhould have come to paſs, that the infinite Swarm of that vaſt Northern-

Hive,

Hive, which ſo often ſhook the World like a great Tempeſt, and overflow'd it like a Torrent; changing Names, and Cuſtoms, and Government, and Language, and the very face of Nature, wherever they ſeated themſelves; which upon Record of Story, under the Name of *Gauls*, pierc'd into *Greece* and *Italy*, ſacking *Rome*, and beſieging the Capitol in *Camillus* his time; under that of the *Cimbers*, march'd through *France*, to the very Confines of *Italy*, defended by *Marius*; under that of *Hunns* or *Lombards*, *Viſigoths*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, conquer'd the whole Forces of the *Roman* Empire, ſackt *Rome* thrice in a ſmall compaſs of Years, ſeated Three Kingdoms in *Spain* and *Africk*, as well as *Lombardy*; and under that of *Danes* or *Normans*, poſſeſs'd themſelves of *England*, a great part of *France*, and even of *Naples* and *Sicily*. How (I ſay) theſe Nations, which ſeem'd to ſpawn in every Age, and at ſome Intervals of Time diſcharged their own native Countries of ſo vaſt Numbers, and with ſuch Terror to the World, ſhould, about Seven or Eight Hundred Years ago, leave off the uſe of theſe furious Expeditions, as if on a ſudden they

they ſhould have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill Climates. But I ſuppoſe, we owe this benefit wholly to the Growth and Progreſs of Chriſtianity in the North, by which early and undiſtinguiſh'd Copulation, or multitude of Wives, were either reſtrain'd or abrogated: By the ſame means Learning and Civility got footing among them in ſome degree, and encloſed certain Circuits of thoſe vaſt Regions, by the diſtinctions and bounds of Kingdoms, Principalities, or Commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder Lives, ſpent without other Cares or Pleaſures, than of Food, or of Luſt; and betook themſelves to the Eaſe and Entertainment of Societies: With Order and Labour, Riches began, and Trade followed; and theſe made way for Luxury, and that for many Diſeaſes or ill Habits of Body, which, unknown to the former and ſimpler Ages, began to ſhorten and weaken both Life and Procreation. Beſides, the Diviſions and Circles of Dominion occaſion'd Wars between the ſeveral Nations, though of one Faith; and thoſe of the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and *Muſcovites*, with the *Turks* or *Tartars*, made

made greater Slaughters; and by theſe Accidents I ſuppoſe the Numbers of thoſe fertile Broods have been leſſen'd, and their Limits in a meaſure confin'd; and we have had thereby, for ſo long together in theſe parts of the World, the Honour and Liberty of drawing our own Blood, upon the Quarrels of Humour or Avarice, Ambition or Pride, without the Aſſiſtance, or Need, of any barbarous Nations to deſtroy us.

But to end this Digreſſion, and return to the *Low-Countries*, where the Government laſted, in the form and manner deſcribed, (tho' in ſeveral Principalities,) 'till *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great Extent of a populous Country, and the mighty Growth of Trade in *Bruges*, *Gant*, and *Antwerp*, attributed by *Comines* to the Goodneſs of the Princes, and Eaſe and Safety of the People; both *Philip*, and his Son *Charles the Hardy*, found themſelves a Match for *France*, then much weaken'd, as well by the late Wars of *England*, as the Factions of their Princes. And in the Wars with *France*, was the Houſe of *Burgundy*, under *Charles* and *Maxi-*

*milian* of *Auſtria*, (who Married his Daughter and Heir) and afterwards under *Charles* the Fifth, their Grand-child, almoſt conſtantly engag'd; the Courſe, Succeſſes, and Revolutions whereof are commonly known.

*Philip* of *Burgundy*, who began them, was a good and wiſe Prince, lov'd by his Subjects, and eſteemed by his Enemies; and took his Meaſures ſo well, that upon the declining of the *Engliſh* Greatneſs abroad, by their Diſſentions at Home, he ended his Quarrels in *France*, by a Peace, with Safety and Honour; ſo that he took no Pretence from his Greatneſs, or his Wars, to change any thing in the Forms of his Government: But *Charles the Hardy* engaged more raſhly againſt *France*, and the *Switzers*, began to ask greater and frequent Contributions of his Subjects; which, gain'd at firſt by the Credit of his Father's Government and his own great Deſigns, but ſpent in an unfortunate War, made his People diſcontented, and him diſeſteemed, 'till he ended an unhappy Life, by an untimely Death, in the Battel of *Nancy*.

In the time of *Maximilian*, ſeveral *German* Troops were brought down into *Flan-*

*Flanders*, for their Defence againſt *France*; and in that of *Charles* the Fifth, much greater Forces of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, upon the ſame occaſion; a thing unknown to the *Low-country-men* in the time of their former Princes. But through the whole courſe of this Emperor's Reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his Greatneſs and Fame encreaſing together, either diverted or ſuppreſſed any Diſcontents of his Subjects upon the increaſe of their Payments, or the grievance of ſo many Foreign Troops among them. Beſides, *Charles* was of a gentle and a generous Nature; and, being born in the *Low-Countries*, was naturally kind and eaſie to that People, whoſe Cuſtoms and Language he always uſed when he was among them, and employed all their great Men in the Charges of his Court, his Government, or his Armies, through the ſeveral parts of his vaſt Dominions; ſo that upon the laſt great Action of his Life, which was the Reſignation of his Crowns to his Son and Brother, he left to *Philip* the Second, the Seventeen Provinces, in a Condition as Peaceable, and as Loyal, as either Prince or Subjects could deſire.

*Philip* the Second, coming to the Poſſeſſion of ſo many and great Dominions, about the Year 1556, after ſome Trial of good and ill Fortune in the War with *France*, (which was left him by his Father, like an Encumbrance upon a great Eſtate,) reſtor'd, by the Peace of *Cambrey*, not only the Quiet of his own Countries, but in a manner of all Chriſtendom, which was in ſome degree or other engag'd in the Quarrel of theſe Princes. After this, he reſolv'd to return into *Spain*, and leave the *Low-Countries* under a ſubordinate Government, which had been 'till *Charles* the Fifth's time the conſtant Seat of their Princes, and ſhar'd the Preſence of that great Emperor with the reſt of his Dominions. But *Philip*, a *Spaniard* born, retaining, from the Climate or Education of that Country, the Severeneſs and Gravity of the Nation, which the *Flemings* call'd Reſervedneſs and Pride; conferring the Offices of his Houſe, and the Honour of his Council and Confidence, upon *Spaniards*, and thereby introducing their Cuſtoms, Habits, and Languag into the Court of *Flanders*; continuing, after the Peace, thoſe *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces, and the

the Demand of Supplies from the States which the War had made neceſſary, and the eaſier ſupported; He ſoon left off being lov'd, and began to be fear'd by the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces.

But *Philip* the Second thought it not agreeing with the Pomp and Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, already at the Head of ſo mighty Dominions; nor with his Deſigns of an yet greater Empire, to conſider the Diſcontents or Grievances of ſo ſmall a Country; nor to be limited by their ancient Forms of Government: And therefore, at his Departure for *Spain*, and Subſtitution of his Natural Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, for Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, aſſiſted by the Miniſtry of *Granvell*, he left her inſtructed to continue the Foreign Troops, and the Demand of Mony from the States for their Support, which was now by a long courſe of War grown cuſtomary among them, and the Sums only diſputed between the Prince and the States: To eſtabliſh the Fourteen Biſhops, he had agreed with the Pope, ſhould be added to the Three, that were anciently in the *Low-Countries*: To revive the Edicts of *Charles* the Fifth againſt *Luther*, pub-

liſh'd in a Diet of the Empire about the Year 1550, but eluded in the *Low-Countries* even in that Emperor's time; and thereby to make way for the Inquiſition with the ſame courſe it had received in *Spain*; of which the *Lutherans* here, and the *Moors* there, were made an equal Pretence. And theſe Points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the firſt Commotions of Mens Minds in the Provinces.

The Hatred of the People againſt the *Spaniards*, and the Inſolencies of thoſe Troops, with the Charge of their Support, made them look'd upon by the Inhabitants in general, as the Inſtruments of their Oppreſſion and Slavery, and not of their Defence, when a general Peace had left them no Enemies: And therefore the States began here their Complaints, with a general Conſent and Paſſion of all the Nobles, as well as Towns and Country. And upon the Delays that were contriv'd, or fell in, the States firſt refuſed to raiſe any more Monies, either for the *Spaniards* Pay, or their own ſtanding Troops; and the People ran into ſo great Deſpair, that in *Zealand* they abſolutely gave over the

the working at their Digues, ſuffering the Sea to gain every Tide upon the Country; and reſolving (as they ſaid) rather to be devoured by that Element, than by the *Spaniſh* Soldiers: So that after many Diſputes and Intrigues, between the Governeſs and the Provinces, the King, upon her Remonſtrances, was induced to their Removal; which was accordingly performed with great Joy and Applauſe of the People.

The erecting of Fourteen new Biſhops Sees, raiſed the next Conteſt. The great Lords look'd upon this Innovation as a leſſening of their Power, by introducing ſo many new Men into the great Council. The Abbots (out of whoſe Lands they were to be endow'd) pleaded againſt it, as a violent Uſurpation upon the Rights of the Church, and the Will of the Dead, who had given thoſe Lands to a particular uſe. The Commons murmured at it, as a new degree of Oppreſſion upon their Conſcience or Liberty, by the erecting ſo many new Spiritual Courts of Judicature, and ſo great a number of Judges, being Seventeen for Three, that were before in the Country; and thoſe depending abſo-

lutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all Men declaimed againſt it, as a Breach of the King's Oath at his Acceſſion to the Government, for the preſerving the Church and the Laws in the ſame ſtate he found them. However this Point was gain'd entirely by the Governeſs, and carry'd over the head of all Oppoſition, tho' not without leaving a general Diſcontent.

In the midſt of theſe ill Humours ſtirring in *Flanders*, the Wars of Religion, breaking out in *France*, drove great numbers of *Calviniſts* into all thoſe parts of the *Low-Countries* that confine upon *France*, as the Troubles of *Germany* had before of *Lutherans*, into the *Provinces* about the *Rhine*; and the Proſecutions under Queen *Mary*, thoſe of the Church of *England* into *Flanders* and *Brabant*, by the great Commerce of this Kingdom with *Bruges* and *Antwerp*.

Theſe Accidents and Neighbourhoods fill'd theſe Countries, in a ſmall Tract of Time, with Swarms of the Reformed Profeſſors: And the Admiration of their Zeal, the Opinion of their Doctrine and Piety, the Compaſſion of their Sufferings, the Infuſion of their Diſ-

Diſcontents, or the Humour of the Age, gain'd them every Day many Proſelytes in the *Low-Countries*, ſome among the Nobles, many among the Villages, but moſt among the Cities, whoſe Trade and Riches were much encreaſed by theſe new Inhabitants; and whoſe Intereſt thereby, as well as Converſation, drew them on to their Favour.

This made Work for the *Inquiſition*, though moderately exerciſed by the Prudence and Temper of the Governeſs, mediating between the Rigor of *Granvell*, who ſtrain'd up to the higheſt his Maſter's Authority, and the Execution of his Commands upon all occaſions; and the Reſolutenеſs of the Lords of the Provinces, to temper the King's Edicts, and protect the Liberties of their Country againſt the Admiſſion of this New and Arbitrary Judicature, unknown to all ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country; and for that, not leſs odious to the People, than for the Cruelty of their Executions. For, before the *Inquiſition*, the Care of Religion was in the Biſhops; and before that, in the Civil Magiſtrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon

Upon angry Debates in Council, but chiefly upon the univerſal Miniſtry of *Granvell*, a *Burgundian* of mean Birth, grown at laſt to a Cardinal; and more famous for the Greatneſs of his Parts, than the Goodneſs of his Life: The chief Lords of the Country (among whom the Prince of *Orange*, Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Marqueſs of *Berghen* and *Montigny*, were moſt conſiderable) grew to ſo violent and implacable an Hatred of the Cardinal, (whether from Paſſion or Intereſt) which was ſo univerſally ſpread through the whole Body of the People, either by the Cauſes of it, or the Example, that the Lords firſt refuſed their Attendance in Council, proteſting, *Not to endure the Sight of a Man ſo abſolute there, and to the Ruin of their Country*: And afterwards Petitioned the King, in the Name of the whole Country, for his Removal: Upon the Delay whereof, and the Continuance of the Inquiſition, the People appeared, upon daily Occaſions and Accidents, heated to that degree, as threatned a general Combuſtion in the whole Body, when ever the leaſt Flame ſhould break out in any Part.

But

But the King at length conſented to *Granvell*'s Receſs, by the Opinion of the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, as well as the purſuit of the Provinces: Whereupon the Lords reaſſum'd their Places in Council; Count *Egmont* was ſent into *Spain* to repreſent the Grievances of the Provinces; and being favourably diſpatcht by the King, eſpecially by remitting the Rigor of the Edicts about Religion, and the Inquiſition, all noiſe of Diſcontent and Tumult was appeaſed, the Lords were made uſe of by the Governeſs in the Council, and Conduct of Affairs; and the Governeſs was by the Lords both Obeyed and Honoured.

In the beginning of the Year 1565, there was a Conference at *Bayonne* between *Katherine* Queen-Mother of *France* and her Son *Charles* the Ninth, (though very young) with his Siſter *Iſabella* Queen of *Spain*: In which no other Perſon but the Duke of *Alva* interven'd, being deputed thither by *Philip*, who excus'd his own Preſence, and thereby made this Enterview paſs for an effect or expreſſion of Kindneſs between the Mother and her Children. Whether great Reſolutions are the more

ſuſpected

ſuſpected, where great Secreſie is obſerv'd; or if it be true, what the Prince of *Orange* affirm'd to have by accident diſcover'd, That the Extirpation of all Families which ſhould profeſs the New Religion in the *French* or *Spaniſh* Dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual Aſſiſtance of the Two Crowns. 'Tis certain, and was owned, that Matters of Religion were the Subject of that Conference; and that ſoon after, in the ſame Year, came Letters from King *Philip* to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, diſclaiming the Interpretation which had been given to his Letters by Count *Egmont*, declaring, His Pleaſure was, That all Hereticks ſhould be put to death without Remiſſion; That the Emperor's Edicts, and the Council of *Trent*, ſhould be publiſhed and obſerved; and commanding, That the utmoſt Aſſiſtance of the Civil Power ſhould be given to the *Inquiſition*.

When this was divulg'd, at firſt, the Aſtoniſhment was great throughout their Provinces; but that ſoon gave way to their Rage, which began to appear in their Looks, in their Speeches, their bold Meetings and Libels; and was encreaſed

encreaſed by the miſerable Spectacles of ſo many Executions upon account of Religion. The Conſtancy of the Sufferers, and Compaſſion of the Beholders, conſpiring generally to leſſen the Opinion of Guilt or Crime, and heighten a Deteſtation of the Puniſhment and Deſire of Revenge, againſt the Authors of that Counſel, of whom the Duke of *Alva* was eſteemed the Chief.

In the beginning of the Year 1566, began an open Mutiny of the Citizens in many Towns, hindring Executions, and forcing Priſons and Officers; and this was followed by a Confederacy of the Lords, Never to ſuffer the *Inquiſition* in the *Low-Countries*, as contrary to all Laws, both ſacred and prophane, and exceeding the Cruelty of all former Tyrannies, upon which, all Reſolutions of Force or Rigor grew unſafe for the Government, now too weak for ſuch a Revolution of the People; and on the other ſide, *Brederode*, in confidence of the general Favour, came in the Head of Two Hundred Gentlemen, thorow the Provinces, to *Bruſſels*, and in bold Terms petition'd the Governeſs for aboliſhing the *Inquiſition*, and Edicts about Religion; and that

that new ones ſhould be fram'd by a Convention of the States.

The Governeſs was forc'd to uſe gentle Remedies to ſo violent a Diſeaſe; to receive the Petition without ſhew of the Reſentment ſhe had at heart; and to promiſe a Repreſentation of their Deſires to the King; which was accordingly done: But though the King was ſtartled with ſuch Conſequences of his laſt Commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the Slowneſs of his Nature, or the Forms of the *Spaniſh* Court, the Anſwer came too late: And as all his former Conceſſions, either by Delay, or Teſtimonies of ill-will or meaning in them, had loſt the good Grace; ſo this loſt abſolutely the Effect, and came into the *Low-Countries* when all was in flame, by an Inſurrection of the meaner People through many great Towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*; who fell violently upon the Spoil of Churches, and Deſtruction of Images, with a thouſand circumſtances of barbarous and brutiſh Fury; which, with the Inſtitution of Conſiſtories and Magiſtrates in each Town among thoſe of the Reformed Profeſſion, with Publick

lick Confederacies and Diſtinctions, and private Contributions agreed upon for the Support of their common Cauſe, gave the firſt Date in this Year of 1566, to the Revolt of the *Low-Countries*.

But the Nobility of the Country, and the richeſt of the People in the Cities, though unſatisfy'd with the Government, yet feeling the Effects, and abhorring the Rage, of popular Tumults, as the worſt Miſchief that can befall any State: And encourag'd by the Arrival of the King's Conceſſions, began to unite their Councils and Forces with thoſe of the Governeſs, and to employ themſelves both with great Vigor and Loyalty, for ſuppreſſing the late Inſurrections, that had ſeis'd upon many, and ſhak'd moſt of the Cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* were great Inſtruments, by the Authority of their great Charges, (one being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the other of *Flanders*); but more by the general Love and Confidence of the People; 'till by the reducing *Valenciens*, *Maeſtricht*, and the *Burſe*, by Arms; the Submiſſion of

*Antwerp*

*Antwerp* and other Towns; the Defection of Count *Egmont* from the Councils of the Confederate Lords (as they were call'd;) the Retreat of the Prince of *Orange* into *Germany*; and the Death of *Brederode*; with the News and Preparations of King *Philip*'s ſudden Journey into the *Low-Countries*, as well as the Prudence and Moderation of the Dutcheſs, in governing all theſe Circumſtances; The whole Eſtate of the Provinces was perfectly reſtor'd to its former Peace, Obedience, and at leaſt, Appearance of Loyalty.

King *Philip*, whether having never really decreed his Journey into *Flanders*, or diverted by the Pacification of the Provinces, and Apprehenſion of the *Moors* rebelling in *Spain*, or a Diſtruſt of his Son Prince *Charles* his violent Paſſions and Diſpoſitions, or the Expectation of what had been reſolved at *Bayonne*, growning ripe for Execution in *France*, gave over the Diſcourſe of ſeeing the *Low-Countries*; But at the ſame time took up the Reſolution for diſpatching the Duke of *Alva* thither at the Head of an Army of Ten Thouſand Veteran *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, Troops, for the Aſſiſtance of the Go-

Governeſs, the Execution of the Laws, the ſuppreſſing and puniſhment of all, who had been Authors or Fomenters of the late Seditions.

This Reſult was put ſuddenly in Execution, though wholly againſt the Advice of the Dutcheſs of *Parma* in *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Feria* (one of the chief Miniſters) in *Spain*: Who thought, the preſent Peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new Occaſions; nor the Royal Authority leſſened, by being made a Party in a War upon his Subjects; nor a Miniſter employ'd, where he was ſo profeſſedly both hating, and hated, as the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low-Countries*.

But the King was unmoveable; ſo that in the end of the Year 1567, the Duke of *Alva* arriv'd there with an Army of Ten Thouſand, the beſt *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Soldiers, under the Command of the choiceſt Officers, which the Wars of *Charles* the Fifth, or *Philip* the Second, had bred up in *Europe*; which, with Two Thouſand *Germans* the Dutcheſs of *Parma* had rais'd in the laſt Tumults, and under the Command of ſo Old and Renown'd

a General as the Duke of *Alva*, made up a Force, which nothing in the *Low-Countries* could look in the face with other Eyes, than of Aſtoniſhment, Submiſſion, or Deſpair.

Upon the firſt report of this Expedition, the Trading People of the Towns and Country began in vaſt Numbers to retire out of the Provinces; ſo as the Dutcheſs wrote to the King, That, in few days, above a Hundred Thouſand Men had left the Country, and withdrawn both their Mony and Goods, and more were following every day: So great Antipathy there ever appears between Merchants and Soldiers; whilſt one pretends to be ſafe under Laws, which the other pretends ſhall be ſubject to his Sword, and his Will. And upon the firſt Action of the Duke of *Alva* after his Arrival, which was the ſeizing Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, as well as the ſuſpected Death of the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and Impriſonment of *Montigny* in *Spain*, (whither, ſome Months before, they had been ſent with Commiſſion and Inſtructions from the Dutcheſs,) ſhe immediately deſired leave of the King to retire out of the *Low-Countries*.

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This was eaſily obtained, and the Duke of *Alva* inveſted in the Government, with Powers never given before to any Governor: A Council of Twelve was erected for Tryal of all Crimes committed againſt the King's Authority, which was called by the People, *The Council of Blood.* Great numbers were condemned and executed by Sentence of this Council, upon account of the late Inſurrections: More by that of the *Inquiſition*, againſt the parting-advice of the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, and the Exclamations of the People at thoſe illegal Courts. The Towns ſtomached the Breach of their Charters, the People of their Liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the Charters of their Order, by theſe new and odious Courts of Judicature: All complain of the diſuſe of the States, of the introduction of Armies, but all in vain: The King was conſtant to what he had determined; *Alva* was in his nature cruel and inexorable; the new Army was fierce and brave, and deſirous of nothing ſo much as a Rebellion in the Country: The People were enraged, but awed and unheaded: All was Seizure and Proceſs, Confiſcation

and Impriſonment, Blood and Horror, Inſolence and Dejection, Puniſhments executed and meditated Revenge: The ſmaller Branches were lopt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down. Count *Egmont* and *Horne* laſted ſeveral Months; but, at length, in ſpight of all their Services to *Charles* the Fifth, and to *Philip*; as well as of their new Merits, in the quieting of the Provinces, and of ſo great Supplications and Interceſſions as were made in their Favour, both in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, they were publickly beheaded at *Bruſſels*, which ſeemed to break all patience in the People; and, by their End, to give thoſe Commotions a Beginning, which coſt *Europe* ſo much Blood, and *Spain* a great part of the *Low-Country*-Provinces.

After the Proceſs of *Egmont* and *Horne*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was retir'd into *Germany*, was ſummoned to his Trial for the ſame Crimes, of which the others had been accuſed; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaim'd Traitor, and his whole Eſtate, which was very great in the Provinces, (and in *Burgundy*) ſeized upon, as forfeited to the King.

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The Prince, treated in this manner, while he was quiet and unarmed in *Germany*, employs all his Credit with thoſe Princes engaged to him by Alliance, or by common Fears of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, throws off all Obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, raiſes Forces, joins with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces: All enraged at the Duke of *Alva*'s Cruel and Arbitrary Government, and reſolv'd to revenge the Count *Egmont*'s Death, (who had ever been the Darling of the People.) With theſe Troops he enters *Friezland*, and invades the outward Parts of *Brabant*, receives Succours from the Proteſtants of *France*, then in Arms under the Prince of *Conde*: And after many various Encounters and Succeſſes, by the great Conduct of *Alva*, and Valour of his Veteran Army, being hindred from ſeizing upon any Town in *Brabant*, (which both of them knew would ſhake the Fidelity of the Provinces,) he is at length forc'd to break up his Army, and to retire into *Germany*. Hereupon, *Alva* returns in Triumph to *Bruſſels*; and as if he had made a Conqueſt, inſtead of a Defence, cauſes out of the Cannon taken from *Lewis*

of *Naſſau*, his Statue to be caſt in Braſs, treading and inſulting upon two ſmaller Statues, that repreſented the Two Eſtates of the *Low-Countries*: And this to be erected in the Cittadel he had built at *Antwerp*, for the abſolute ſubjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous Town.

Nothing had raiſed greater Indignation among the *Flemings*, than the publick ſight and oſtentation of this Statue; and the more, becauſe they knew the Boaſt to be true, finding their ancient Liberties and Privileges (the Inheritance of ſo many Ages, or Bounty of ſo many Princes) all now proſtrate before this one Man's Sword and Will, who from the time of *Charles* the Fifth had ever been eſteemed an Enemy of their Nation, and Author of all the Counſels for the abſolute ſubduing their Country.

But *Alva*, mov'd with no Rumors, terrified with no Threats from a broken and unarmed People, and thinking no Meaſures nor Forms were any more neceſſary to be obſerved in the *Low-Countries*, pretends greater Sums are neceſſary for the Pay and Reward of his Victorious Troops, than were annually

annually granted upon the King's Requeſt, by the States of the Provinces; And therefore demands a general Tax of the Hundredth part of every Man's Eſtate in the *Low-Countries*, to be raiſed at once: And for the future, the Twentieth of all Immoveables, and the Tenth of all that was Sold.

The States, with much Reluctancy, conſent to the firſt, as a thing that ended at once; but refuſed the other two, alledging the Poverty of the Provinces, and the Ruin of Trade. Upon the Duke's perſiſting, they petition the King by Meſſengers into *Spain*, but without Redreſs; draw out the Year in Conteſts, ſometimes ſtomachful, ſometimes humble, with the Governor; 'till the Duke, impatient of further delay, cauſes the Edict, without Conſent of the States, to be publiſhed at *Bruſſels*. The People refuſe to pay, the Soldiers begin to levy by force; the Townſmen all ſhut up their Shops; the People in the Country forbear the Market, ſo as not ſo much as Bread or Meat is to be bought in the Town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the Soldiers to Arms, and commands ſeveral of the Inhabitants, who refuſed the

Payments, to be hanged that very Night upon their Sign-poſts; which nothing moves the Obſtinacy of the People: And now the Officers of the Guards are ready to begin the Executions, when News comes to Town of the taking of the *Briel* by the *Gueſes*, and of the Expectation that had given of a ſudden Revolt in the Province of *Holland*.

This unexpected Blow ſtruck the Duke of *Alva*; and foreſeeing the Conſequences of it, becauſe he knew the Stubble was dry, and now he found the Fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill time to make an end of the Tragedy in *Brabant*, whilſt a new Scene was opened in *Holland*; and ſo, giving over for the preſent his Taxes and Executions, applies his Thoughts to the Suppreſſion of this new Enemy, that broke in upon him from the Sea; and for that Reaſon, the Bottom and Reach of the Deſign, as well as the Nature and Strength of their Forces, were to the Duke the leſs known, and the more ſuſpected. Now becauſe this Seiſure of the *Briel* began the ſecond great Commotion of the *Low-Countries* in 1570, and that which indeed never ended,

ended, but in the Loſs of thoſe Provinces, where the Death of the *Spaniſh* and Royal Government gave Life to a new Commonwealth; it will be neceſſary to know, what ſort of Men, and by what Accidents united, and by what Fears or Hopes emboldened, were the firſt Authors of this Adventure.

Upon *Brederode*'s delivering a Petition to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, againſt the *Inquiſition*, and for ſome Liberty in Point of Religion; thoſe Perſons, which attended him, looking mean in their Cloaths and their Garb, were called by one of the Courtiers, at their entrance into the Palace, *Gueſes*, which ſignifies *Beggars*; a Name, though rais'd by chance, or by ſcorn, yet affected by the Party, as an Expreſſion of Humility and Diſtreſs, and us'd ever after by both ſides, as a Name of Diſtinction, comprehending all, who diſſented from the *Roman* Church, how different ſoever in Opinion among themſelves.

Theſe Men, ſpread in great numbers through the whole extent of the Provinces, by the Accidents and Diſpoſitions already mention'd, after the appeaſing of their firſt Sedition, were broken in their common Counſels; and by

by the Cruelty of the Inquiſition, and Rigor of *Alva*, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at leaſt, ſuch as had means or hopes of ſubſiſting abroad: Many of the poorer and more deſperate fled into the Woods of the upper Countries, (where they are thick and wild) and liv'd upon Spoil; and, in the firſt Deſcent of the Prince of *Orange* his Forces, did great Miſchiefs to all ſcatter'd Parties of the Duke of *Alva's* Troops in their March through thoſe Parts. But after that Attempt of the Prince ended without Succeſs, and he was forced back into *Germany*; the Count of *Marcke*, a violent and implacable Enemy to the Duke of *Alva* and his Government, with many others of the broken Troops, (whom the ſame Fortune and Diſpoſition had left together in *Friezland*,) man'd out ſome Ships of ſmall Force, and betook themſelves to Sea; and, with Commiſſions from the Prince of *Orange*, began to prey upon all they could maſter, that belonged to the *Spaniards*. They ſometimes ſheltered and watered, and ſold their Prizes in ſome Creeks or ſmall Harbors of *England*, though forbidden by

by Queen *Elizabeth*, (then in Peace with *Spain*;) ſometimes in the River *Ems*, or ſome ſmall Ports of *Friezland*; 'till at length, having gain'd conſiderable Riches by theſe Adventures, whether to ſell, or to refreſh, whether driven by Storm, or led by Deſign, (upon knowledge of the ill Blood which the new Taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the Iſland of the *Briel*, aſſaulted and carried the Town, pull'd down the Images in the Churches, profeſſed openly their Religion, declared againſt the Taxes and Tyranny of the *Spaniſh* Government, and were immediately followed by the Revolt of moſt of the Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Friezland*, who threw out the *Spaniſh* Garriſons, renounced their Obedience to King *Philip*, and ſwore Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince returned out of *Germany* with new Forces, and, making uſe of this Fury of the People, contented not himſelf with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but march'd up into the very Heart of the Provinces, within five Leagues of *Bruſſels*, ſeizing upon *Mechlin*, and many other Towns, with ſo great Conſent, Applauſe, and Concourſe

of

of People, that the whole *Spaniſh* Dominion now ſeem'd ready to expire in the *Low-Countries*, if it had not been reviv'd by the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants at *Paris*; which, contriv'd by joint Counſels with King *Philip*, and acted by a *Spaniſh* Party in the Court of *France*, and with ſo fatal a Blow to the contrary Faction, encourag'd the Duke of *Alva*, and dampt the Prince of *Orange* in the ſame degree; ſo that one gathers ſtrength enough to defend the Heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into *Holland*, and makes that the Seat of the War.

This Country was ſtrong by its Nature and Seat among the Waters, that encompaſs and divide it; but more by a rougher ſort of People at that time, leſs ſoftened by Trade, or by Riches; leſs us'd to Grants of Mony and Taxes; and proud of their ancient Fame, recorded in the *Roman* Stories, of being obſtinate Defenders of their Liberties, and now moſt implacable Haters of the *Spaniſh* Name.

All theſe Diſpoſitions were encreas'd and harden'd, in the War that enſu'd under the Duke of *Alva*'s Conduct, or his Sons; by the Slaughter of all innocent

nocent Perſons and Sexes, upon the taking of *Naerden*, where the Houſes were burnt, and the Walls levelled to the Ground; by the deſperate Defence of *Haerlem* for Ten Months, with all the Practiſes and Returns of Ignominy, Cruelty, and Scorn on both ſides; while the very Women liſted themſelves in Companies, repair'd Breaches, gave Alarms, and beat up Quarters, 'till, all being famiſh'd, Four Hundred Burgers (after the Surrender) were kill'd in cold Blood, among many other Examples of an incens'd Conqueror; which made the Humor of the Parties grow more deſperate, and their Hatred to *Spain* and *Alva* incurable.

The ſame Army broken and forc'd to riſe from before *Alcmaer*, after a long and fierce Siege in *Alva*'s Time; and from before *Leyden* in the Time of *Requiſenes* (where the Boors themſelves open'd the Sluces, and drown'd the Country, reſolving to miſchief the *Spaniards*, at the Charge of their own Ruin,) gave the great Turn to Affairs in *Holland*.

The King grows ſenſible of Danger, and apprehenſive of the total Defection of the Provinces; *Alva* weary of his

his Government, finding his violent Councils and Proceedings had raiſed a Spirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the War goes on under *Requiſenes*; who dying ſuddenly, and without proviſions made by the King for a Succeſſor; the Government, by Cuſtoms of the Country, devolved by way of Interim upon the Great Council, which laſted ſome time, by the delay of *Don John* of *Auſtria*'s coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But in this Interim, the ſtrength of the Diſeaſe appears; for, upon the Mutiny of ſome *Spaniſh* Troops, for want of their Pay, and their ſeizing *Aloſt*, a Town near *Bruſſels*, the People grow into a rage, the Tradeſmen give over their Shops, and the Country-Men their Labour, and all run to Arms: In *Bruſſels* they force the Senate, pull out thoſe Men they knew to be moſt addicted to the *Spaniards*, kill ſuch of that Nation as they meet in the Streets, and all in general cry out for the Expulſion of Foreigners out of the *Low-Countries*, and the Aſſembling of the States; to which the Council is forced

to

to conſent. In the mean time, the chief Perſons of the Provinces enter into an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, to carry on the common Affairs of the Provinces by the ſame Counſels; ſo as when the Eſtates aſſembled at *Ghent*, without any Conteſt, they agreed upon that Act, which was called *The Pacification of* Ghent, in the Year 1576, whereof the chief Articles were, *The Expulſion of all Foreign Soldiers out of the Provinces; Reſtoring all the ancient Forms of Government; And referring Matters of Religion in each Province to the Provincial Eſtates; And that for performance hereof, the reſt of the Provinces ſhould for ever be confederate with* Holland *and* Zealand. And this made the firſt Period of the *Low-Country* Troubles, proving to King *Philip* a dear Experience, how little the beſt Conduct, and boldeſt Armies, are able to withſtand the Torrent of a ſtubborn and enraged People, which ever bears all down before it, 'till it comes to be divided into different Channels by Arts, or by Chance; or, 'till the Springs, which are the Humors that fed it, come to be ſpent, or dry up of themſelves.

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The Foreign Forces, refuſing to depart, are declar'd Rebels; whereupon the *Spaniſh* Troops force and plunder ſeveral Towns, and *Antwerp* among the reſt, (by Advantage of the Cittadel,) with equal Courage and Avarice; and defend themſelves in ſeveral Holds from the Forces of the States, 'till *Don John*'s arrival at *Luxemburg*, the only Town of the Provinces, where he thought himſelf ſafe, as not involv'd in the Defection of the reſt.

The Eſtates refuſe to admit him, without his accepting and confirming the Pacification of *Ghent*; which at length he does, by leave from the King, and enters upon the Government with the Diſmiſſion of all Foreign Troops, which return into *Italy*. But ſoon after, *Don John*, whether out of Indignation to ſee himſelf but a precarious Governor, without Force or Dependance; or, deſiring new occaſions of Fame by a War; or, inſtructed from *Spain* upon new Counſels, takes the occaſion of complimenting Queen *Margaret* of *Navar* upon her Journey out of *France* to the *Spaw*, and on a ſudden ſeizes upon the Caſtle of *Namur*. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw

off

off their Obedience, call the Prince of *Orange* to *Bruſſels*, where he is made Protector of *Brabant*, by the States of that Province, and Preparations are made on both ſides for the War: While *Spain* is buſie to form new Armies, and draw them together in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*, the only Provinces obedient to that Crown: And all the reſt agree to elect a Governor of their own, and ſend to *Matthias* the Emperor's Brother, to offer him the Charge.

At this time began to be form'd the Male-content Party in the *Low-Countries*; which, though agreeing with the reſt in their Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and Defence of their Liberties and Laws, yet were not inclin'd to ſhake off their Allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and eſtabliſh'd Religion: And theſe were headed by the Duke of *Areſchot*, and ſeveral Great Men, the more averſe from a general Defection, by Emulation or Envy of the Prince of *Orange*'s Greatneſs, who was now grown to have all the Influence and Credit in the Counſels of the League.

By the Aſſiſtance of this Party, after

*Don John*'s ſudden Death, the Duke of *Parma*, ſucceeding him, gain'd Strength and Reputation upon his coming to the Government, and an entrance upon that great Scene of Glory and Victory, which made both his Perſon ſo renowned, and the time of his Government ſignaliz'd by ſo many Sieges and Battels, and the Reduction of ſo great a part of the Body of the Provinces to the Subjection of *Spain*.

Upon the Growth of this Party, and for Diſtinction from them, who, purſuing a middle and dangerous Counſel, were at length to become an Acceſſion to one of the Extreams; the more Northern Provinces, meeting by their Deputies at *Utrecht*, in the Year 1579, fram'd an Act or Alliance, which was ever after call'd *The Union of* Utrecht; and was the Original Conſtitution and Frame of that Commonwealth, which has ſince been ſo well known in the World, by the Name of *The United Provinces*.

This Union was grounded upon the *Spaniards* Breach of the *Pacification* of *Ghent*, and new Invaſion of ſome Towns in *Gelderland*; and was not pretended to divide theſe Provinces from the

the Generality, nor from the ſaid *Pacification*; but to ſtrengthen and purſue the Ends of it, by more vigorous and united Counſels and Arms.

The chief Force of this Union conſiſts in theſe Points, drawn out of the Inſtrument it ſelf.

The Seven Provinces unite themſelves ſo, as if they were but One Province, and ſo, as never to be divided by Teſtament, Donation, Exchange, Sale, or Agreement: Reſerving to each particular Province and City, all Privileges, Rights, Cuſtoms and Statutes: In adjuging whereof, or Differences that ſhall ariſe between any of the Provinces, the reſt ſhall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an Agreement.

They bind themſelves to aſſiſt one another with Life and Fortunes againſt all Force and Aſſault made upon any of them, whether upon Pretence of Royal Majeſty, of reſtoring Catholick Religion, or any other whatſoever.

All Frontier-Towns belonging to the Union, if Old, to be fortified at the Charge of the Province where they lie; if New, to be erected at the Charge of the Generality.

All Impoſts and Cuſtoms, from three Months to three Months, to be offered to them that bid moſt; and, with the Incomes of the Royal Majeſty, to be employed for the common Defence.

All Inhabitants to be Liſted and Trained within a Month, from 18 to 60 Years old. Peace and War not to be made without Conſent of all the Provinces; Other Caſes, that concern the Management of both, by moſt Voices. Differences that ſhall ariſe upon the firſt, between the Provinces, to be ſubmitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, Lands, and Cities, to be admitted into the Union, by Conſent of the Provinces.

For Religion, thoſe of *Holland* and *Zealand*, to act in it as ſeems good unto themſelves. The other Provinces may regulate themſelves according to the Tenor eſtabliſh'd by *Matthias*, or elſe as they ſhall judge to be moſt for the Peace and Welfare of their particular Provinces; provided, every one remain free in his Religion, and no Man be examined or entrapped for that cauſe, according to the Pacification of *Ghent*.

In caſe of any Diſſention or Differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it ſhall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: In both which Caſes, Sentence to be pronounced within a Month, and without Appeal or Reviſion.

The States to be held, as has been formerly uſed; and the Mint in ſuch manner, as ſhall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of theſe Articles to remain in the States; but in caſe of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themſelves to fall upon, and impriſon any, that ſhall act contrary to theſe Articles; in which caſe no Privilege nor Exemption to be valid.

This Act was Signed by the Deputies of *Guelderland*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and the Omlands of *Frize*, *Jan.* 23. 1579. but was not Signed by the Prince of *Orange* 'till *May* following, and with this Signification, judging, that by the ſame the Superiority and Authority of Arch-Duke *Matthias* is not leſſened.

In the ſame Year, this Union was enter'd and ſign'd by the Cities of *Ghent*, *Nimmeguen*, *Arnhem*, *Leewarden*, with ſome particular Nobles of *Friezland*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, and *Bruges*. And thus theſe Provinces became a Commonwealth, but in ſo low and uncertain a ſtate of Affairs, by reaſon of the various Motions and Affections of Mens Minds, the different Ends and Intereſts of the ſeveral Parties, eſpecially in the other Provinces; and the mighty Power and Preparations of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to oppreſs them, that in their firſt Coin they caus'd a Ship to be ſtamped, labouring among the Waves without Sails or Oars; and theſe Words, *Incertum quo fata ferant*.

I thought ſo particular a Deduction neceſſary, to diſcover the natural Cauſes of this Revolution in the *Low-Countries*, which has ſince had ſo great a part, for near an Hundred Years, in all the Actions and Negotiations of Chriſtendom; and to find out the true Incentives of that obſtinate Love for their Liberties, and invincible Hatred for the *Spaniſh* Nation and Government, which laid the Foundation of this Commonwealth:

wealth: And this laſt I take to have been the ſtronger Paſſion, and of the greater Effect, both in the bold Counſels of contracting their Union, and the deſperate Reſolutions of defending it. For not long after, the whole Council of this new State, being preſs'd by the Extremities of their Affairs, paſſing by the Form of Government in the way of a Commonwealth, made an earneſt and ſolemn Offer of the Dominion of theſe Provinces both to *England* and *France*; but were refuſed by both Crowns: And though they retain'd the Name of a Free People, yet they ſoon loſt the Eaſe of the Liberties they contended for, by the Abſoluteneſs of their Magiſtrates in the ſeveral Cities and Provinces, and by the extream Preſſure of their Taxes, which ſo long a War, with ſo mighty an Enemy, made neceſſary for the Support of their State.

But the Hatred of the *Spaniſh* Government, under *Alva*, was ſo univerſal, that it made the Revolt general through the Provinces, running through all Religions, and all Orders of Men, as appeared by the Pacification of *Ghent*; 'Till by the Diviſion of the

Parties, by the Powers of ſo vaſt a Monarchy as *Spain* at that time, and by the matchleſs Conduct and Valour of the Duke of *Parma*, this Humour, like Poiſon in a ſtrong Conſtitution, and with the help of violent Phyſick, was expell'd from the Heart, which was *Flanders* and *Brabant*, (with the reſt of the Ten Provinces) into the outward Members; and by their being cut off, the Body was ſaved. After which, the moſt enflamed Spirits being driven by the Arms of *Spain*, or drawn by the Hopes of Liberty and Safety, into the *United Provinces* out of the reſt, the Hatred of *Spain* grew to that height, that they were not only willing to ſubmit to any new Dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no Maſter to protect them, and their Affairs grew deſperate, they were once certainly upon the Counſel of burning their great Towns, waſting and drowning what they could of their own Country, and going to ſeek ſome new Seats in the *Indies*. Which they might have executed, if they had found Shipping enough to carry off all their Numbers, and had not been detain'd by the Com-

paſſion

paſſion of thoſe which muſt have been left behind, at the mercy of an incenſed and conquering Maſter.

The *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Writers content themſelves to attribute the Cauſes of theſe Revolutions to the Change of Religion, to the native Stubbornneſs of the People, and to the Ambition of the Princes of *Orange:* But Religion, without mixtures of Ambition and Intereſt, works no ſuch violent Effects; and produces rather the Examples of conſtant Sufferings, than of deſperate Actions. The Nature of the People cannot change of a ſudden, no more than the Climate which infuſes it; And no Country hath brought forth better Subjects, than many of theſe Provinces, both before and ſince theſe Commotions among them; And the Ambition of one Man could neither have deſigned or atchieved ſo great an Adventure, had it not been ſeconded with univerſal Diſcontent: Nor could that have been raiſed to ſo great an Height and Heat, without ſo many Circumſtances as fell in from an unhappy Courſe of the *Spaniſh* Counſels, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head ſuch

a Body, and give it ſo ſtrong a Principle of Life, and ſo regular Motions, without the accident of ſo great a Governor in the Provinces, as Prince *William* of *Orange:* A Man of equal Abilities in Council and in Arms; Cautious and Reſolute, Affable and Severe, Supple to Occaſions, and yet Conſtant to his Ends; of mighty Revenues and Dependance in the Provinces, of great Credit and Alliance in *Germany;* eſteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely lov'd and truſted by the People, who thought him affectionate to their Country, ſincere in his Profeſſions and Deſigns, able and willing to defend their Liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any Ambition of his own. Yet all theſe Qualities might very well have been confin'd to the Duty and Services of a Subject, as they were in *Charles* the Fifth's time; Without the Abſence of the King, and the Peoples Opinion of his Ill-will to their Nation and their Laws; Without the Continuance of Foreign Troops after the Wars were ended; The erecting of the new Biſhops Sees, and introducing the *Inquiſition;* The ſole Miniſtry of *Granvell,*

and

and Excluſion of the Lords from their uſual part in Councils and Affairs; The Government of a Man ſo hated, as the Duke of *Alva*; The Rigor of his Proſecutions, and the Inſolence of his Statue: And laſtly, Without the Death of *Egmont*, and the Impoſition of the Tenth and Twentieth Part, againſt the Legal Forms of Government in a Country, where a long derived Succeſſion had made the People fond and tenacious of their ancient Cuſtoms and Laws.

Theſe were the Seeds of their Hatred to *Spain*; which, increaſing by the Courſe of about Threeſcore Years War, was not allay'd by a long ſucceeding Peace; but will appear to have been an Ingredient into the Fall, as it was into the Riſe, of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conſerved and cultivated by many Accidents and Influences from abroad: But thoſe having had no part in the Conſtitution of their State, nor the Frame of their Government; I will content my ſelf to mention only the chief of them, which moſt contributed to preſerve the Infancy of this Commonwealth, and make way for its Growth. The Cauſes of its ſucceeding

Greatneſs

Greatneſs and Riches being not to be ſought for in the Events of their Wars, but in the Inſtitutions and Orders of their Government, their Cuſtoms and Trade, which will make the Arguments of the enſuing Chapters.

When *Don John* threw off the Conditions he had at firſt accepted of the Pacification of *Ghent*, and by the Surpriſe of *Namur* broke into Arms; the Eſtate of the Provinces offer'd the Government of their Country to *Matthias*, Brother to the Emperor, as a Temper between their return to the Obedience of *Spain*, and the Popular Government which was moulding in the Northern Provinces. But *Matthias* arriving without the Advice or Support of the Emperor, or Credit in the Provinces; and having the Prince of *Orange* given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a Cypher, and his Government a piece of Pageantry, which paſt without effect, and was ſoon ended: So that, upon the Duke of *Parma*'s taking on him the Government, ſome new Protection was neceſſary to this Infant-State, that had not Legs to ſupport it againſt ſuch a Storm, as was threaten'd upon the Return of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces,

to

to make the Body of a formidable Army, which the Duke of *Parma* was forming in *Namur* and *Luxemburgh*.

Since the Conference of *Bayonne* between the Queen-Mother of *France*, and her Daughter Queen of *Spain*; thoſe two Crowns had continu'd, in the Reign of *Francis* and *Charles*, to aſſiſt one another in the common Deſign there agreed on, of proſecuting with Violence thoſe they call'd the Hereticks, in both their Dominions. The Peace held conſtant, if not kind, between *England* and *Spain*; ſo as King *Philip* had no Wars upon his Hands in Chriſtendom, during theſe Commotions in the *Low-Countries*: And the Boldneſs of their Confederates, in their firſt Revolt and Union, ſeem'd greater at ſuch a time, than the Succeſs of their Reſiſtances afterwards, when ſo many Occaſions fell in to weaken and divert the Forces of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

For *Henry* the Third coming to the Crown of *France*, and at firſt only fetter'd and control'd by the Faction of the *Guiſes*, but afterwards engaged in an open War, (which they had raiſed againſt him, upon pretext of preſerving the Catholick Religion, and in

a Conjunction of Counſels with *Spain*) was forced into better meaſures with the *Hugonots* of his Kingdom, and fell into ill Intelligence with *Philip* the Second, ſo as Queen *Elizabeth* having declin'd to undertake openly the Protection of the *Low-Country* Provinces, it was, by the concurring Reſolution of the States, and the Conſent of the *French* Court, devolved upon the Duke of *Alencon*, Brother to *Henry* the Third.

But this Prince enter'd *Antwerp* with an ill Preſage to the *Flemings*, by an Attempt which a *Biſcainer* made, the ſame day, upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Life, ſhooting him, though not mortally, in the Head: And He continu'd his ſhort Government with ſuch mutual Diſtates between the *French* and the *Flemings*, (the Heat and Violence of one Nation agreeing ill with the Cuſtoms and Liberties of the other,) that the Duke, attempting to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of the City of *Antwerp* by force, was driven out of the Town, and thereupon retired out of the Country, with extream Reſentment of the *Flemings*, and Indignation of the *French*; ſo as the Prince of *Orange* being not long

long after aſſaſſin'd at *Delph*, and the Duke of *Parma* encreaſing daily in Reputation and in Force, and the Malecontent Party falling back apace to his Obedience, an End was preſaged by moſt Men to the Affairs of the Confederates.

But the Root was deeper, and not ſo eaſily ſhaken: For the *United Provinces*, after the unhappy Tranſactions with the *French*, under the Duke of *Alencon*, reaſſum'd their Union in 1583, binding themſelves, in caſe, by fury of the War, any Point of it had not been obſerved, to endeavour from that time to ſee it effected: In caſe any Doubt had happen'd, to ſee it clear'd: And any Difficulties, compoſed: And in regard the Article concerning Religion had been ſo fram'd in the Union, becauſe in all the other Provinces, beſides *Holland* and *Zealand*, the *Romiſh* Religion was then uſed, but now the *Evangelical*; It was agreed by all the Provinces of the Union, That, from this time in them all, the Evangelical Reform'd Religion ſhould alone be openly Preached and Exerciſed.

They were ſo far from being broken in their Deſigns by the Prince of *Orange's*

*Orange*'s Death, that they did all the Honour that could be to his Memory, ſubſtituted Prince *Maurice* his Son, though but Sixteen Years old, in all his Honours and Commands, and obſtinately refus'd all Overtures that were made them of Peace; reſolving upon all the moſt deſperate Actions and Sufferings, rather than return under the *Spaniſh* Obedience.

But theſe Spirits were fed and heighten'd, in a great degree, by the hopes and countenance given them about this time from *England*: For Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Philip* the Second, though they ſtill preſerved the Name of Peace, yet had worn out, in a manner, the Effects as well as the Diſpoſitions of it, whilſt the *Spaniard* fomented and aſſiſted the Inſurrections of the *Iriſh*, and Queen *Elizabeth* the new Commonwealth in the *Low-Countries*; though neither directly, yet by Countenance, Mony, voluntary Troops, and ways that were equally felt on both ſides, and equally underſtood.

King *Philip* had lately increaſed the Greatneſs of his Empire, by the Inheritance or Invaſion of the Kingdoms of *Portugal*, upon King *Sebaſtian*'s Loſs

in

in *Africa:* But I know not whether he had encreas'd his Power, by the Acceſſion of a Kingdom, with diſputed Title, and a diſcontented People, who could neither be uſed like good Subjects, and govern'd without Armies; nor like a Conquer'd Nation, and ſo made to bear the Charge of their forced Obedience. But this Addition of Empire, with the vaſt Treaſure flowing every Year out of the *Indies*, had without queſtion raiſed King *Philip*'s Ambition to vaſter Deſigns; which made him embrace at once, the Protection of the League in *France* againſt *Henry* the Third and Fourth; and the Donation made him of *Ireland* by the Pope, and ſo embark himſelf in a War with both thoſe Crowns; while he was bearded with the open Arms and Defiance of his own Subjects in the *Low-Countries*.

But 'tis hard to be imagin'd, how fat the Spirit of one Great Man goes in the Fortunes of any Army or State. The Duke of *Parma* coming to the Government without any footing in more than Two of the ſmalleſt Provinces, collecting an Army from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the broken Troops

of the Country left him by *Don John*, having all the other Provinces confederated againſt him, and both *England* and *France* beginning to take open part in their Defence; yet, by force of his own Valour, Conduct, and the Diſcipline of his Army, with the diſintereſſed and generous Qualities of his Mind, winning equally upon the Hearts and Arms of the Revolted Countries, and piercing through the Provinces with an uninterrupted Courſe of Succeſſes, and the Recovery of the moſt important Towns in *Flanders*; at laſt, by the taking of *Antwerp* and *Groningue*, reduc'd the Affairs of the Union to ſo extream Diſtreſs, that, being grown deſtitute of all Hopes and Succours from *France*, (then deep engaged in their own Civil Wars,) They threw themſelves wholly at the Feet of Queen *Elizabeth*, imploring her Protection, and offering her the Sovereignty of their Country. The Queen refuſed the Dominion, but enter'd into Articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging her ſelf to very great Supplies of Men and of Monies, lent them upon the Security of the *Briel*, *Fluſhing*, and *Ramekins*; which were performed, and

Sir

Sir *John Norrice* ſent over to command her Forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the War broken out with *Spain*, and the mighty Threats of the *Spaniſh* Armada, ſhe ſent over yet greater Forces under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, whom the States admitted, and ſwore Obedience to him, as Governor of their *United Provinces*.

But this Government laſted not long, Diſtaſtes and Suſpicions ſoon breaking out between *Leiceſter* and the States; partly from the Jealouſie of his affecting an Abſolute Dominion, and Arbitrary Diſpoſal of all Offices; but chiefly, of the Queen's Intentions to make a Peace with *Spain*; and the eaſie Loſs of ſome of their Towns, by Governors placed in them by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, encreaſed their Diſcontents. Notwithſtanding this ill Intercourſe, the Queen re-aſſures them in both thoſe Points, diſapproves ſome of *Leiceſter*'s Proceedings, receives frank and hearty Aſſiſtances from them in her Naval Preparations againſt the *Spaniards*; and at length, upon the Diſorders encreaſing between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the States, commands him to reſign his Government, and releaſe the States of

But, after her Death, King *Henry* grew to have greater Credit than ever in the *United Provinces*; tho', upon the Decay of the *Spaniſh* Power under the Aſcendant of this King, the States fell into very early Jealouſies of his growing too great, and too near them in *Flanders*.

With the Duke of *Parma* dy'd all the Diſcipline, and, with that, all the Fortunes, of the *Spaniſh* Arms in *Flanders*: The frequent Mutinies of their Soldiers, dangerous in Effect and in Example, were more talk'd of, than any other of their Actions, in the ſhort Government of *Mansfield*, *Erneſt*, and *Fuentes*: Till the old Diſcipline of their Armies began to revive, and their Fortune a little to reſpire under the new Government of Cardinal *Albert*, who came into *Flanders* both Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*, in the Head of a mighty Army drawn out of *Germany* and *Italy*, to try the laſt Effort of the *Spaniſh* Power, either in a proſperous War, or, at leaſt, in making way for a neceſſary Peace.

But the Choice of the Arch-Duke, and this new Authority, had a deeper Root, and Deſign, than at firſt appear'd:

For

For that mighty King *Philip* the Second, born to ſo vaſt Poſſeſſions, and to ſo much vaſter Deſires, after a long Dream of raiſing his Head into the Clouds, found it now ready to lye down in the Duſt: His Body broken with Age and Infirmities, his Mind with Cares and diſtemper'd Thoughts, and the Royal Servitude of a ſollicitous Life: He began to ſee, in the Glaſs of Time, and Experience, the true ſhapes of all human Greatneſs and Deſigns; And, finding to what airy Figures he had hitherto ſacrificed his Health, and Eaſe, and the Good of his Life; He now turn'd his Thoughts wholly to Reſt and Quiet, which he had never yet allow'd either the World, or Himſelf: His Deſigns upon *England*, and his Invincible Armada, had ended in Smoak: Thoſe upon *France*, in Events the moſt contrary to what he had propos'd: And inſtead of maſtering the Liberties, and breaking the Stomach of his *Low-Country* Subjects, he had loſt Seven of his Provinces, and held the reſt by the Tenure of a War, that coſt him more than they were worth. He had made lately a Peace with *England*, and deſir'd it with *France*; and though he ſcorn'd

it with his revolted Subjects in his own Name; yet he wiſh'd it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a Quarrel upon his Son, which had croſt his Fortunes, and buſied his Thoughts all the courſe of his Reign. He therefore reſolv'd to commit theſe two Deſigns to the Management of Arch-Duke *Albert*, with the Stile of Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*; to the end, that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old Subjection, he ſhould govern them as *Spaniſh* Dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he ſhould by a Marriage with *Clara Iſabella Eugenia* (King *Philip*'s beloved Daughter) receive theſe Provinces as a Dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a Condition only, of their returning to *Spain*, in caſe of *Iſabella*'s dying without Iſſue. King *Philip* believ'd, that the Preſence of a natural Prince among his Subjects; that the Birth and Cuſtoms of Arch-Duke *Albert*, being a *German*; the generous and obliging Diſpoſitions of *Iſabella*, might gain further upon this ſtubborn People, than all the Force and Rigor of his former Counſels: And at the worſt; that they might make a Peace, if they could not

not a War, and without intereſſing the Honour and Greatneſs of the *Spaniſh* Crown.

In purſuit of this Determination, like a wiſe King, while he intended nothing but Peace, he made Preparations, as if he deſign'd nothing but War; knowing that his own Deſires of Peace would ſignifie nothing, unleſs he could force his Enemies to deſire it too. He therefore ſent the Arch-Duke into *Flanders*, at the Head of ſuch an Army, that, believing the Peace with *France* muſt be the firſt in order, and make way for either the War or Peace afterward in the *Low-Countries*, he march'd into *France*, and took *Amiens* the Chief City of *Picardy*, and thereby gave ſuch an Alarm to the *French* Court, as they little expected; and had never received in the former Wars. But while *Albert* bent the whole Force of the War upon *France*, 'till he determin'd it in a Peace with that Crown, Prince *Maurice*, who had taken *Groningue* in the time of *Erneſt*, now maſter'd *Linghen*, *Groll*, and other Places in *Overyſſel*, thereby adding thoſe Provinces intire, to the Body of the Union; and at *Albert*'s Return into *Flanders*, entertain'd

tain'd him with the Battel of *Newport*, won by the deſperate Courage of the *Engliſh*, under Sir *Francis Vere*, where *Albert* was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this Loſs, the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and reliev'd by the obſequious Affections and Obedience of his new Subjects, ſo far as to reſolve upon the Siege of *Oſtend*; which having ſome time continu'd, and being almoſt diſhearten'd by the Strength of the Place, and invincible Courage of the Defendants, He was recruited by a Body of Eight Thouſand *Italians*, under the Marqueſs *Spinola*, to whom the Proſecution of this Siege was committed: He took the Place, after Three Years Siege, not by any want of Men or Proviſions within, (the Haven, and Relief by Sea, being open all the time;) but perfectly for want of Ground, which was gain'd Foot by Foot, 'till not ſo much was left, as would hold Men to defend it; a great Example, how impoſſible it is to defend any Town, that cannot be reliev'd by an Army ſtrong enough to raiſe the Siege.

Prince *Maurice*, though he could not ſave *Oſtend*, made yet amends for its Loſs,

Loſs, by the taking of *Grave* and *Sluyce*; ſo as the *Spaniards* gain'd little but the Honour of the Enterpriſe: And *Philip* the Second being dead, about the time of the Arch-Duke's and Dutcheſs's Arrival in *Flanders*, and, with him the Perſonal Reſentment of that War, the Arch-Duke, by conſent of the *Spaniſh* Court, began to apply his Thoughts wholly to a Peace; which another Circumſtance had made more neceſſary, than any of thoſe already mention'd.

As the *Dutch* Commonwealth was born out of the Sea, ſo out of the ſame Element it drew its firſt Strength and Conſideration, as well as afterwards its Riches and Greatneſs: For before the Revolts, the Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, though never allow'd the Trade of the *Indies*, but in the *Spaniſh* Fleets, and under *Spaniſh* Covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the Voyages, and become skilful Pilots, as well as vers'd in the ways, and ſenſible of the infinite Gains of that Trade. And after the Union, a greater Confluence of People falling down into the *United Provinces*, than could manage their Stock, or find Employment at Land; great Multitudes

turn'd their Endeavours to Sea; and, having loſt the Trade of *Spain* and the *Streights*, fell not only into that of *England*, *France*, and the Northern Seas, but ventur'd upon that of the *Eaſt-Indies*, at firſt with ſmall Forces and Succeſs; but in courſe of time, and by the Inſtitution of an *Eaſt-India* Company, this came to be purſu'd with ſo general Application of the Provinces, and ſo great Advantage, that they made themſelves Maſters of moſt of the Colonies and Forts planted there by the *Portugueſe*, (now Subjects of *Spain*.) The *Dutch* Seamen grew as well acquainted with thoſe vaſt Seas and Coaſts, as with their own; and *Holland* became the great Magazine of all the Commodities of thoſe Eaſtern Regions.

In the *Weſt-Indies* their Attempts were neither ſo frequent nor proſperous, the *Spaniſh* Plantations there being too numerous and ſtrong; but by the multitude of their Shipping, ſet out with publick or private Commiſſions, they infeſted the Seas, and began to wait for, and threaten, the *Spaniſh Indian* Fleets, and ſometimes to attempt their Coaſts in that new World (which

was

was to touch *Spain* in the moſt ſenſible Part,) and gave their Court the ſtrongeſt Motives to endeavour a Peace, that might ſecure thoſe Treaſures in their way, and preſerve them in *Spain*, by ſtopping the Iſſue of thoſe vaſt Sums, which were continually tranſmitted to entertain the *Low-Country* Wars.

Theſe Reſpects gave the firſt Riſe to a Treaty of Peace, the Propoſal whereof came wholly from the *Spaniards*; and the very Mention of it could hardly at firſt be faſtened upon the States; nor could they ever be prevail'd with to make way for any Negotiation by a Suſpenſion of Arms, 'till the Arch-Duke had declared, He would treat with them as with Free Provinces, upon whom, neither he, nor *Spain* had any Pretence. However, the Affair was purſued with ſo much Art and Induſtry on the Arch-Duke's part, and with ſo paſſionate Deſires of the *Spaniſh* Court, to end this War, that they were content to treat it at the *Hague*, the Seat of the States-General; and, for the greater Honour, and better Conduct of the whole Buſineſs, appointed the Four chief Miniſters of the Arch-Duke's, their Commiſſioners to attend

attend and purſue it there; who were, Their Camp-Maſter-General *Spinola*, The Preſident of the Council, and the Two Secretaries of State, and of War in *Flanders*.

On the other ſide, in *Holland* all the Paces towards this Treaty were made with great Coldneſs and Arrogance, raiſing punctilious Difficulties upon every Word of the Arch-Duke's Declaration of Treating them as free Provinces, and upon *Spain*'s Ratification of that Form; and forcing them to ſend Expreſſes into *Spain*, upon every occaſion, and to attend the length of thoſe Returns. For the proſperous Succeſs of their Arms at Land, in the courſe of above Thirty Years War, and the mighty Growth of their Naval Power, and (under that Protection) of their Trade, had made the whole Body of their Militia, both at Land and Sea, averſe from this Treaty, as well as the greateſt part of the People; whoſe inveterate Hatred againſt *Spain* was ſtill as fierce as ever; and who had the Hopes or Diſpoſitions of raiſing their Fortunes by the War, whereof they had ſo many and great Examples among them.

But

But there was, at the bottom, one Foreign, and another Domeſtick, Conſideration, which made way for this Treaty, more than all thoſe Arguments that were the common Theams, or than all the Offices of the Neighbour-Princes, who concern'd themſelves in this Affair, either from Intereſt of their own, or the Deſires of ending a War, which had ſo long exercis'd, in a manner, the Arms of all Chriſtendom upon the Stage of the *Low-Countries*. The Greatneſs of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſo formidable under *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second, began now to decline by the vaſt Deſigns, and unfortunate Events, of ſo many ambitious Counſels: And, on the other ſide, the Affairs of *Henry* the Fourth of *France* were now at the greateſt Height and Felicity, after having atchieved ſo many Adventures, with incredible Conſtancy and Valour, and ended all his Wars in a Peace with *Spain*. The *Dutch* imagin'd, that the hot Spirits of the *French* could not continue long without ſome Exerciſe; and that to prevent it at home, it might be neceſſary for that King to give it them abroad: That no Enterpriſe lay ſo convenient for him, as that upon *Flanders*, which had

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anciently been part of the *Gallick* Nation, and whoſe firſt Princes derived and held of the Kings of *France*. Beſides, they had Intimations, that *Henry* the Fourth was taken up in great Preparations for War, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that ſide, at leaſt, if they were invited by any greater Decays of the *Spaniſh* Power in *Flanders*: And they knew very well, they ſhould lie as much at the Mercy of ſuch a Neighbour as *France*, as they had formerly done of ſuch a Maſter as *Spain*. For the *Spaniſh* Power in *Flanders* was fed by Treaſures that came by long and perilous Voyages out of *Spain*; by Troops drawn either from thence, or from *Italy* or *Germany*, with much Caſualty, and more Expence: Their Territory of the Ten Provinces was ſmall, and awed by the Neighbourhood and Jealouſies both of *England* and *France*. But if *France* were once Maſter of *Flanders*, the Body of that Empire would be ſo great, and ſo entire; ſo abounding in People, and in Riches, that whenever they found, or made, an occaſion of invading the *United Provinces*, they had no hopes of preſerving themſelves by any Oppoſition or Diverſion:

on: And the end of their mighty Reſiſtances againſt *Spain* was, to have no Maſter; and not to change one for another, as they ſhould do in this caſe: Therefore the moſt Intelligent among their Civil Miniſters thought it ſafeſt, by a Peace, to give Breath to the Arch-Duke's and *Spaniſh* Power, and by that means, to leſſen the Invitation of the Arms of *France* into *Flanders*, under ſo great a King.

For what was Domeſtick, the Credit and Power of Prince *Maurice*, built at firſt upon that of his Father, but much rais'd by his own Perſonal Virtue and Qualities, and the Succeſs of his Armes, was now grown ſo high (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of Four of the Provinces; and Two of his Couſins of the other Three,) that ſeveral of the States, headed by *Barnevelt*, Penſioner of *Holland*, and a Man of great Abilities and Authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's Power, and pretended to fear the Growth of it to an abſolute Dominion: They knew, it would increaſe by the continuance of a War, which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought, that in a Peace it would

diminiſh, and give way to the Authority of Civil Power: Which diſpos'd this whole Party to deſire the Treaty, and to advance the Progreſs and Iſſue of it by all their Aſſiſtances. And theſe different Humors ſtirring in the Heart of the States, with almoſt equal Strength and Vigor; the Negotiation of a Peace came to be eluded, after long Debates and infinite Endeavours; breaking, in appearance, upon the Points of Religion, and the *Indian* Trade: But yet came to knit again, and conclude in a Truce of Twelve Years, dated in the Year 1609, whereof the moſt eſſential Points were, The Declaration of Treating with them as Free Provinces; The Ceſſation of all Acts of Hoſtility on both ſides, during the Truce; The Enjoyment for that ſpace, of all that each Party poſſeſs'd at the time of the Treaty; That no new Fortification ſhould be rais'd on either ſide: And that free Commerce ſhould be reſtor'd on all Parts in the ſame manner, as it was before the Wars.

And thus the State of the *United Provinces* came to be acknowledg'd, as a Free Commonwealth by their ancient Maſter, having before been Treated ſo

by moſt of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, in frequent Embaſſies and Negotiations. Among which, a particular Preference was given to the *Engliſh* Crown, whoſe Ambaſſador had Seſſion and Vote in their Council of State, by Agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in Acknowledgment of thoſe great Aſſiſtances, which gave Life to their State, when it was upon the point of expiring: Though the *Dutch* pretend, that Privilege was given to the Ambaſſador, by Virtue of the Poſſeſſion this Crown had of the *Briel*, *Fluſhing* and *Ramekins*; and that it was to ceaſe upon the Reſtitution of thoſe Towns, and Repayment of thoſe Sums lent by the Queen.

In the very time of Treating this Truce, a League was concluded between *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, and the States, for preſerving the Peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in caſe of its failing, for Aſſiſtance of one another, with Ten Thouſand Men on the King's part, and Five Thouſand on the States. Nor did that King make any Difficulty of continuing the Two Regiments of Foot, and Two Hundred Horſe in the States Service, at his own Charge, after

the Truce, which he had maintain'd for ſeveral Years before it: Omitting no Proviſions that might tie that State to his Intereſts, and make him at preſent Arbiter of the Peace, and for the future of the War, if the Truce ſhould come to be broken, or to expire of it ſelf.

By what has been related, it will eaſily appear, That no State was ever born with ſtronger Throws, or nurſt up with harder fare, or inur'd to greater Labours or Dangers in the whole courſe of its Youth; which are Circumſtances that uſually make ſtrong and healthy Bodies: And ſo this has proved, having never had more than one Diſeaſe break out, in the ſpace of Ninety Three Years, which may be accounted the Age of this State, reckoning from the Union of *Utrecht*, enter'd by the Provinces in 1579. But this Diſeaſe, like thoſe of the Seed, or Conception, in a natural Body, though it firſt appear'd in *Barnevelt*'s time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with *Spain*, and ſeemed to end with his Death, (who was beheaded not many Years after;) yet has it ever ſince continued lurking in the Veins of this State, and appearing upon

upon all Revolutions, that ſeem to favour the Predominancy of the one or other Humor in the Body; and under the Names of the Prince of *Orange*'s, and the *Arminian* Party, has ever made the weak ſide of this State; and whenever their Period comes, will prove the Occaſion of their Fall.

The Ground of this Name of *Arminian* was, That whilſt *Barnevelt*'s Party accuſed thoſe of the Prince of *Orange*'s, as being careleſs of their Liberties, ſo dearly bought; as devoted to the Houſe of *Orange*; and diſpoſed to the Admiſſion of an abſolute Principality, and in order thereunto, as Promoters of a perpetual War with *Spain*: So thoſe of the Prince's Party, accuſed the others, as leaning ſtill to, and looking kindly upon, their old Servitude, and reliſhing the *Spaniard*, both in their Politicks, by ſo eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown; and in their Religion, by being generally *Arminians*, (which was eſteemed the middle part between the *Calviniſts* and the *Roman* Religion.) And beſides theſe mutual Reproaches, the two Parties have ever valued themſelves upon the aſſerting, one of the true and purer

Reformed Religion; and the other, of the truer and freer Liberties of the State.

The Fortunes of this Commonwealth, that have happened in their Wars or Negotiations, ſince the Truce with *Spain*, and what Circumſtances or Accidents, both abroad and at home, ſerv'd to cultivate their mighty Growth, and conſpired to the Greatneſs wherein they appear'd to the World in the Beginning of the Year 1665, being not only the Subject of the Relations, but even the Obſervations, of this preſent Age; I ſhall either leave, as more obvious, and leſs neceſſary to the Account I intend of the Civil Government of this Commonwealth: Or elſe reſerve them 'till the ſame Vein of Leiſure or Humour invite me to continue this Deduction to this preſent time; the Affairs of this State having been complicated with all the Variety and memorable Revolutions, both of Actions and Counſels, that have ſince happen'd in the reſt of Chriſtendom.

In the mean time, I will cloſe this Relation with an Event, which arrived ſoon after the Concluſion of the Truce, and had like to have broken it within

the very Year, if not prevented by the Offices of the Neighbour Princes, but more by a Change of Humour in the United States, conſpiring to the Conſervation of the new-reſtored Peace in theſe Parts of the World.

In the end of the Year 1609, died the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without Heir-Male, leaving thoſe Dutchies to the Pretenſions of his Daughters, in whoſe Right the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Nieuburgh* poſſeſſed themſelves of ſuch Parts of thoſe Territories as they firſt could invade; each of them pretending Right to the whole Inheritance. *Brandenburgh* ſeeks Protection and Favour to his Title from the *United Provinces*; *Nieuburgh* from Arch-Duke *Albert*, and from *Spain*. The Arch-Duke, newly reſpiring from ſo long a War, had no deſire to intereſs himſelf in this Quarrel, further than the care, that the *Dutch* ſhould not take Advantage of it; and, under pretext of aſſiſting one of the Parties, ſeiſe upon ſome of thoſe Dominions lying contiguous to their own. The *Dutch* were not ſo equal, nor content to loſe ſo fair an occaſion, and ſurpriſed the Town of *Juliers*, (tho' pretending only to keep

it 'till the Parties agreed:) And believing that *Spain*, after having parted with ſo much in the late Truce, to end a Quarrel of their own, would not venture a Breach of it upon a Quarrel of their Neighbours. But the Arch-Duke having firſt taken his Meaſures with *Spain*, and foreſeeing the Conſequence of this Affair, reſolved to venture the whole State of *Flanders* in a new War, rather than ſuffer ſuch an Encreaſe of Power and Dominion to the States. And thereupon, Firſt, in the Behalf of the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, requires from them the Reſtitution of *Juliers*; and upon their artificious and dilatory Anſwers, immediately draws his Forces together, and with an Army, under the Command of *Spinola*, marches towards *Juliers*, (which the States were in no care of, as well provided for a bold Defence;) but makes a ſudden Turn, and ſits down before *Weſel*, with ſuch a Terror and Surpriſe to the Inhabitants, that he carries the Town before the *Dutch* could come in to their Aſſiſtance. *Weſel* was a ſtrong Town upon the *Rhine*, which the Duke of *Brandenburgh* pretended to, as belonging to the Dutchy of *Cleve*;

but the Citizens held at this time as an Imperial Town, and under Protection of the *Dutch*: Who, amazed at this ſudden and bold Attempt of *Spinola*, which made him Maſter of a Paſs that lay fair for any further Invaſion upon their Provinces, (eſpecially thoſe on t'other ſide the *Rhine*,) engage the Offices of both the *Engliſh* and *French* Crowns, to mediate an Agreement, which at length they conclude, ſo as neither Party ſhould, upon any pretence, draw their Forces into any part of theſe Dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke having, by the fondneſs of Peace, newly made a Truce, upon Conditions impos'd by the *Dutch*; now, by the Reſolution of making War, obtains a Peace, upon the very Terms propos'd by himſelf, and by *Spain*. An Event of great Inſtruction and Example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their Aid, which makes them a Prey to their Friend, inſtead of their Enemy: How the only time of making an advantageous Peace, is, when your Enemy deſires it, and when you are in the beſt condition of purſuing a War: And how vain a Coun-

Counſel it is, to avoid a War, by yielding any Point of Intereſt or Honour; which does but invite new Injuries, encourage Enemies, and diſhearten Friends.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of their* GOVERNMENT.

IT is evident by what has been diſcourſed in the former Chapter concerning the Riſe of this State, (which is to be dated from the Union of *Utrecht*) that it cannot properly be ſtyled a Commonwealth, but is rather a Confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces united together for their common and mutual Defence, without any Dependance one upon the other. But to diſcover the Nature of their Government from the firſt Springs and Motions, it muſt be taken yet into ſmaller Pieces, by which it will appear, that each of theſe Provinces is likewiſe compoſed of many little States or Cities, which have ſeveral Marks of Sovereign Power within themſelves, and are not ſubject to the Sovereignty of their Provinces; not being concluded in many things by the Majority, but only by the univerſal Concurrence of Voices in the Provincial States. For as the States-General cannot make War or Peace,

Peace, or any new Alliance, or Levies of Mony, without the Conſent of every Province; ſo cannot the States-Provincial conclude of any of thoſe Points, without the Conſent of each of the Cities, that, by their Conſtitution, has a Voice in that Aſſembly. And tho' in many Civil Cauſes there lies an Appeal from the common Judicature of the Cities, to the Provincial Courts of Juſtice; yet in Criminal, there lies none at all; nor can the Sovereignty of a Province exerciſe any Judicature, ſeiſe upon any Offender, or pardon any Offence within the Juriſdiction of a City, or execute any common Reſolution or Law, but by the Juſtice and Officers of the City it ſelf. By this a certain Sovereignty in each City is diſcerned, the chief Marks whereof are, The Power of exerciſing Judicature, levying of Mony, and making War and Peace: For the other, of Coining Mony, is neither in particular Cities or Provinces, but in the generality of the Union, by common Agreement.

The main Ingredients therefore into the Compoſition of this State, are the Freedom of the Cities, the Sovereignty

of

of the Provinces, the Agreements or Conſtitutions of the Union, and the Authority of the Princes of *Orange*: Which make the Order I ſhall follow in the Account intended of this Government. But whereas, the ſeveral Provinces in the Union, and the ſeveral Cities in each Province, as they have, in their Orders and Conſtitutions, ſome particular Differences, as well as a general Reſemblance; and the account of each diſtinctly would ſwell this Diſcourſe out of meaſure, and to little purpoſe: I ſhall confine my ſelf to the Account of *Holland*, as the richeſt, ſtrongeſt, and of moſt Authority among the Provinces; and of *Amſterdam*, as that which has the ſame Preheminencies among the Cities.

*Government of the City of* Amſterdam.

The Sovereign Authority of the City of *Amſterdam*, conſiſts, in the Decrees or Reſults of their Senate, which is compos'd of Six and Thirty Men, by whom the Juſtice is adminiſter'd, according to ancient Forms; in the names of Officers, and Places of Judicature. But Monies are Levied by Arbitrary Reſolutions, and Proportions, according to what appears convenient or neceſſary upon the Change or Emergency of occa-

occaſions. Theſe Senators are for their Lives, and the Senate was anciently choſen by the Voices of the richer Burghers, or Freemen of the City, who upon the Death of a Senator met together, either in a Church, a Market, or ſome other Place ſpacious enough to receive their Numbers; and there made an Election of the Perſon to ſucceed, by the majority of Voices. But about a Hundred and Thirty, or Forty Years ago, when the Towns of *Holland* began to increaſe in Circuit, and in People, ſo as thoſe frequent Aſſemblies grew into danger of Tumult and Diſorder upon every occaſion, by reaſon of their Numbers and Contention; this Election of Senators came, by the Reſolution of the Burghers, in one of their General Aſſemblies, to be devolved for ever, upon the ſtanding-Senate at that time; ſo, as ever ſince, when any one of their number dies, a new one is choſen by the reſt of the Senate, without any Intervention of the other Burghers; which makes the Government a ſort of *Oligarchi*, and very different from a popular Government, as it is generally eſteem'd by thoſe, who, paſſing or living in theſe Coun-

Countries, content themſelves with common Obſervations, or Inquiries. And this Reſolution of the Burghers, either was agreed upon, or follow'd by general Conſent or Example, about the ſame time, in all the Towns of the Province, tho' with ſome difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are choſen the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, which are the Burgomaſters, and the Eſchevins: The Burgomaſters of *Amſterdam* are Four, whereof Three are choſen every Year; ſo as one of them ſtays in Office Two Years; but the Three laſt choſen, are call'd the *Reſgning-Burgomaſters* for that Year, and preſide by turns, after the firſt Three Months; for ſo long after a new Election, the Burgomaſter of the Year before preſides; in which time it is ſuppos'd the new ones will grow inſtructed in the Forms and Duties of their Office, and acquainted with the State of the Cities Affairs.

The Burgomaſters are choſen by moſt Voices of all thoſe Perſons in the Senate, who have been either Burgomaſters or Eſchevins; and their Authority reſembles that of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in our Cities.

They

They repreſent the Dignity of the Government, and do the Honour of the City upon all Occaſions. They diſpoſe of all Under-Offices that fall in their time; and iſſue out all Monies out of the common Stock or Treaſure, judging alone what is neceſſary for the Safety, Convenience, or Dignity of the City. They keep the Key of the Bank of *Amſterdam*, (the common Treaſure of ſo many Nations,) which is never open'd without the Preſence of one of them: And they inſpect and purſue all the great Publick Works of the City, as the *Ramparts* and *Stadt-houſe*, now almoſt finiſhed, with ſo great Magnificence, and ſo vaſt Expence.

This Office is a Charge of the greateſt Truſt, Authority, and Dignity; and ſo much the greater, by not being of Profit or Advantage, but only as a way to other conſtant Employments in the City, that are ſo. The Salary of a Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, is but Five Hundred Gilders a Year, though there are Offices worth Five Thouſand in their Diſpoſal; but yet none of them known to have taken Mony upon ſuch occaſions, which would loſe all their Credit in the Town, and thereby their

Fortunes

Fortunes by any Publick Employments. They are oblig'd to no ſort of Expence more than ordinary modeſt Citizens, in their Habits, their Attendance, their Tables, or any part of their own Domeſtick. They are upon all Publick Occaſions waited on by Men in Salary from the Town; and whatever Feaſts they make upon ſolemn Days, or for the Entertainment of any Princes or Foreign Miniſters, the Charge is defrayed out of the Common Treaſure; but proportion'd by their own Diſcretion. At other times, they appear in all Places with the Simplicity and Modeſty of other private Citizens. When the Burgomaſter's Office expires, they are of courſe diſpos'd into the other Charges or Employments of the Towns, which are very many and beneficial; unleſs they loſe their Credit with the Senate, by any want of Diligence or Fidelity in the Diſcharge of their Office; which ſeldom arrives.

The *Eſchevins* are the Court of Juſtice in every Town. They are at *Amſterdam* Nine in Number; of which Seven are choſen Annually; but Two of the preceding Year continue in Office. A double Number is named by

the Senate, out of which the Burgomaſters now chuſe, as the Prince of *Orange* did in the former Conſtitution. They are Sovereign Judges in all Criminal Cauſes. In Civil, after a certain value, there lies Appeal to the Court of Juſtice of the Province. But they paſs Sentence of Death upon no Man, without firſt adviſing with the Burgomaſters; tho', after that Form is paſt, they proceed themſelves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomaſters Opinion, but are left to their own: This being only a Care or Favour of Supererogation to the Life of Man, which is ſo ſoon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under theſe Sovereign Magiſtrates, the chief ſubordinate Officers of the Town, are the Treaſurers, who receive and iſſue out all Monies that are properly the Revenues or Stock of the City: The *Scout*, who takes care of the Peace, ſeiſes all Criminals, and ſees the Sentences of Juſtice executed, and whoſe Authority is like that of a Sheriff in a County with us, or a Conſtable in a Pariſh. The *Penſioner*, who is a Civil-Lawyer, vers'd in the Cuſtoms,

Cuſtoms, and Records, and Privileges of the Town, concerning which he informs the Magiſtracy upon occaſion, and vindicates them upon Diſputes with other Towns; he is a Servant of the Senate and the Burgomaſters, delivers their Meſſages, makes their Harangues upon all Publick Occaſions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our Towns.

In this City of *Amſterdam* is the famous Bank, which is the greateſt Treaſure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the World. The place of it is a great Vault under the Stadthouſe, made ſtrong with all the Circumſtances of Doors and Locks, and other appearing Cautions of Safety, that can be: And 'tis certain, that whoever is carried to ſee the Bank, ſhall never fail to find the Appearance of a mighty real Treaſure, in Bars of Gold and Silver, Plate and infinite Bags of Metals, which are ſuppoſed to be all Gold and Silver, and may be ſo for ought I know. But the Burgomaſters only having the Inſpection of this Bank, and no Man ever taking any particular Account of what iſſues in and out, from Age to Age, 'tis im-

poſſible to make any Calculation, or gueſs what Proportion the real Treaſure may hold to the Credit of it. Therefore the Security of the Bank lies not only in the Effects that are in it, but in the Credit of the whole Town or State of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Stock and Revenue is equal to that of ſome Kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all Monies that are brought into their Bank: The Tickets or Bills hereof make all the uſual great Payments, that are made between Man and Man in the Town; and not only in moſt other Places of the *United Provinces*, but in many other Trading-parts of the World. So as this Bank is properly a general Caſh, where every Man lodges his Mony, becauſe he eſteems it ſafer, and eaſier paid in and out, than if it were in his Coffers at home: And the Bank is ſo far from paying any Intereſt for what is there brought in, that Mony in the Bank is worth ſomething more in common Payments, that what runs currant in Coin from Hand to Hand; no other Mony paſſing in the Bank, but in the Species of Coin the beſt known, the moſt aſcertain'd, and the

moſt

moſt generally current in all parts of the Higher as well as the Lower *Germany*.

The Revenues of *Amſterdam* ariſe out of the conſtant Exciſe upon all ſorts of Commodities bought and ſold within the Precinct: Or, out of the Rents of thoſe Houſes or Lands that belong in common to the City: Or, out of certain Duties and Impoſitions upon every Houſe, towards the Uſes of Charity, and the Repairs, or Adornments, or Fortifications, of the Place: Or elſe, out of extraordinary Levies conſented to by the Senate, for furniſhing their Part of the Publick Charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial-States, for the uſe of the Province: Or by the Deputies of the States of *Holland* in the States-General, for Support of the Union. And all theſe Payments are made into one Common Stock of the Town, not, as many of ours are, into that of the Pariſh, ſo as Attempts may be eaſier made at the Calculations of their whole Revenue: And I have heard it affirmed, That what is paid of all kinds to Publick Uſes of the States-General, the Province, and the City in *Amſterdam*, amounts to

above Sixteen hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling* a Year. But I enter into no Computations, nor give theſe for any thing more, than what I have heard from Men who pretended to make ſuch Enquiries, which, I confeſs, I did not. 'Tis certain, that, in no Town, Strength, Beauty, and Convenience are better provided for, nor with more unlimited Expence, than in this, by the Magnificence of their Publick Buildings, as Stadthouſe and Arſenals; the Number and Spaciouſneſs, as well as Order and Revenues of their many Hoſpitals; the Commodiouſneſs of their Canals, running through the chief Streets of Paſſage; the mighty Strength of their Baſtions and Ramparts; and the Neatneſs, as well as Convenience, of their Streets, ſo far as can be compaſs'd in ſo great a Confluence of induſtrious People: All which could never be atchieved without a Charge much exceeding what ſeems proportioned to the Revenue of one ſingle Town.

*Government of the Province of* Holland.

The Senate chuſes the Deputies, which are ſent from this City to the States of *Holland*; the Sovereignty whereof is repreſented by Deputies of the

the Nobles and Towns, compoſing Nineteen Voices: Of which the Nobles have only the firſt, and the Cities Eighteen, according to the number of thoſe which are called *Stemms*; the other Cities and Towns of the Province having no Voice in the States. Theſe Cities were originally but Six, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Amſterdam* and *Tergou*. But were encreaſed, by Prince *William* of *Naſſau*, to the number of Eighteen, by the Addition of *Rotterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Schonoven*, *Briel*, *Alcmaer*, *Horne*, *Enchuſen*, *Edam*, *Moninckdam*, *Medenblick*, and *Permeren*. This makes as great an Inequality in the Government of the Province, by ſuch a ſmall City as *Permeren* having an equal Voice in the Provincial-States with *Amſterdam*, (which pays perhaps half of all Charges of the Province,) as ſeems to be in the States-General, by ſo ſmall a Province as *Overyſſel* having an equal Voice in the States-General with that of *Holland*, which contributes more than half to the general Charge of the Union. But this was by ſome Writers of that Age interpreted to be done by the Prince's Authority, to

leſſen that of the Nobles, and balance that of the greater Cities, by the Voices of the ſmaller, whoſe Dependences were eaſier to be gained and ſecured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not repreſented by all their Number, but by Eight or Nine, who as Deputies from their Body have Seſſion in the States-Provincial; and who, when one among them dyes, chuſe another to ſucceed him. Though they have all together but One Voice equal to the ſmalleſt Town; yet they are very conſiderable in the Government, by poſſeſſing many of the beſt Charges both Civil and Military, by having the Direction of all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue that was ſeis'd by the State upon the Change of Religion; and by ſending their Deputies to all the Councils both of the Generalty and the Province, and by the Nomination of One Counſellor in the Two great Courts of Juſtice. They give their Voice firſt in the Aſſembly of the States, and thereby a great Weight to the Buſineſs in Conſultation. The Penſioner of *Holland* is ſeated with them, delivers their Voice for them,

them, and aſſiſts at all their Deliberations, before they come to the Aſſembly. He is, properly, but Miniſter or Servant of the Province, and ſo his Place or Rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great Credit, becauſe he is perpetual, or ſeldom diſcharged; though of right he ought to be choſen or renewed every fifth Year. He has place in all the ſeveral Aſſemblies of the Province, and in the States propoſes all Affairs, gathers the Opinions, and forms or digeſts the Reſolutions; pretending likewiſe a Power, not to conclude any very important Affair by plurality of Voices, when he judges in his Conſcience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill Conſequence or Prejudice to the Province. He is likewiſe one of their conſtant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the Cities are drawn out of the Magiſtrates and Senate of each Town: Their Number is uncertain and Arbitrary, according to the Cuſtoms or Pleaſure of the Cities that ſend them, becauſe they have all together but one Voice, and are all maintained at their Cities charge: But commonly one of the Burgomaſters, and the Penſioner are of the Number.

The

The States of *Holland* have their Seſſion in the Court at the *Hague*, and aſſemble ordinarily four times a Year, in *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*. In the former Seſſions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant Charges, and for renewing the Farms of all the ſeveral Taxes, and for conſulting about any matters that concern either the general Good of the Province, or any particular Differences ariſing between the Towns. But in *November*, they meet purpoſely to reſolve upon the Continuance of the Charge which falls to the ſhare of their Province the following Year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as neceſſary for the Support of the State or Union.

For extraordinary Occaſions, they are convoked by a Council called the *Gecommitteerde Raeden*, or the Commiſſioned Counſellors, who are properly a Council of State, of the Province, compoſed of ſeveral Deputies; One from the Nobles; One from each of the chief Towns; And but One from Three of the ſmaller Towns, each of the Three chuſing him by turns

turns. And this Council ſits conſtantly at the *Hague*, and both propoſes to the Provincial-States, at their extraordinary Aſſemblies, the matters of Deliberation; and executes their Reſolutions.

In theſe Aſſemblies, though all are equal in Voices, and any one hinders a Reſult; yet it ſeldom happens, but that united by one common Bond of Intereſt, and having all one common End of Publick Good, they come after full Debates to eaſie Reſolutions; yielding to the Power of Reaſon, where it is clear and ſtrong, and ſuppreſſing all private Paſſions or Intereſts, ſo as the ſmaller part ſeldom conteſts hard or long, what the greater agrees of. When the Deputies of the States agree in Opinion, they ſend ſome of their number to their reſpective Towns, propoſing the Affair and the Reaſons alledged, and deſiring Orders from them to conclude; which ſeldom fails, if the Neceſſity or Utility be evident: If it be more intricate, or ſuffers Delay, the States adjourn for ſuch a time, as admits the Return of all the Deputies to their Towns; where their Influence and Intereſt, and the

the Impreſſions of the Debates in their Provincial Aſſemblies, make the Conſent of the Cities eaſier gain'd.

Beſides the States and Council mention'd, the Province has likewiſe a Chamber of Accounts, who manage the general Revenues of the Province: And, beſides this Truſt, they have the abſolute Diſpoſition of the ancient Demeſn of *Holland*, without giving any Account to the States of the Province. Only at times, either upon uſual Intervals, or upon a Neceſſity of Mony, the States call upon them for a Subſidy of Two or Three Hundred Thouſand Crowns, or more, as they are preſt, or conceive the Chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general Deſign of encreaſing the Eaſe and Fortunes of thoſe Perſons who compoſe it. The States of *Holland* diſpoſe of theſe Charges to Men grown aged in their Service, and who have paſs'd through moſt of the Employments of State, with the Eſteem of Prudence and Integrity; and ſuch Perſons find here an honourable and profitable Retreat.

The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, as they uſed formerly to have one

one Governor in the Time of the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria*; ſo they have long had one common Judicature, which is exerciſed by Two Courts of Juſtice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The firſt is compoſed of Twelve Counſellors, Nine of *Holland*, and Three of *Zealand*, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the Head; by the old Conſtitution uſed to preſide whenever he pleaſed, and to name all the Counſellors except One, who was choſen by the Nobles. This Court judges without Appeal in all Criminal Cauſes; but in Civil there lies Appeal to the other Court, which is called the High Council, from which there is no Appeal, but only by Petition to the States of the Province for a Reviſion: When theſe judge there is Reaſon for it, they grant Letters-patents to that purpoſe, naming ſome *Syndiques* out of the Towns, who being added to the Counſellors of the two former Courts reviſe and judge the Cauſe in the laſt Reſort. And this Courſe ſeems to have been inſtituted by way of Supply or Imitation of the Chamber of *Mechlyn*, to which, before the Revolt of the Pro-

Provinces, there lay an Appeal, by way of Reviſion, from all or moſt of the Provincial Courts of Juſtice, as there ſtill doth in the *Spaniſh* Provinces of the *Netherlands*.

*Government of the* United Provinces.

The Union is made up of the Seven Sovereign Provinces before named, who chuſe their reſpective Deputies, and ſend them to the *Hague*, for the compoſing of Three ſeveral Colleges, call'd The States-General, The Council of State, and the Chamber of Accounts. The Sovereign Power of this United-State lies effectively in the Aſſembly of the States-General, which uſed at firſt to be convoked upon extraordinary Occaſions, by the Council of State; but that ſeldom, in regard they uſually conſiſted of above Eight Hundred Perſons, whoſe meeting together in one place, from ſo many ſeveral parts, gave too great a ſhake to the whole Body of the Union; made the Debates long, and ſometimes confuſed; the Reſolutions ſlow, and, upon ſudden Occaſions, out of time. In the Abſence of the States-General, the Council of State repreſented their Authority, and executed their Reſolutions, and judged of the neceſſity of a new

new Convocation, 'till after the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Departure from the Government, the Provincial-States deſired of the General, That they might, by their conſtant reſpective Deputies, continue their Aſſemblies under the Name of *States-General*, which were never after aſſembled but at *Bergen ap Zoom*, for ratifying with more ſolemn Form and Authority, the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

This Deſire of the Provinces was grounded upon the Pretences, That the Council of State convoked them but ſeldom, and at Will; and that being to execute all in their Abſence, they thereby arrogated to themſelves too great an Authority in the State. But a more ſecret Reaſon had greater weight in this Affair, which was, That the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had, by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, a conſtant place in their Council of State; and upon the Diſtates ariſing between the Provinces and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with ſome Jealouſies of the Queen's Diſpoſition to make a Peace with *Spain*, they had no mind that her Ambaſſador ſhould be preſent any longer in the firſt Digeſtion of their Affairs, which

which was then uſually made in the Council of State. And hereupon they firſt fram'd the ordinary Council, call'd the *States-General*, which has ever ſince paſs'd by that Name, and ſits conſtantly in the Court at the *Hague*, repreſents the Sovereignty of the Union, gives Audience and Diſpatches to all Foreign Miniſters; but yet is indeed only a Repreſentative of the States-General, the Aſſemblies whereof are wholly diſuſed.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treaſury, are all ſubordinate to this Council: All which are continu'd in as near a Reſemblance, as could be, to the ſeveral Councils uſed in the time when the Provinces were ſubject to their ſeveral Principalities; or united under One in the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria:* Only the ſeveral Deputies (compoſing one Voice) now ſucceeding the ſingle Perſons employed under the former Governments: And the *Hague*, which was the ancient Seat of the Counts of *Holland*, ſtill continues to be ſo of all theſe Councils; where the Palace of the former Soveraigns, lodges the Prince of *Orange* as Governor, and receives theſe ſeve-

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ral Councils as attending ſtill upon the Sovereignty, repreſented by the States-General.

The Members of all theſe Councils are placed and changed by the ſeveral Provinces, according to their different or agreeing Cuſtoms. To the States-General every one ſends their Deputies, in what number they pleaſe; ſome Two, ſome Ten or Twelve; which makes no Difference, becauſe all Matters are carry'd, not by the Votes of Perſons, but of Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many ſoever, have one ſingle Vote. The Provinces differ likewiſe in the time fixed for their Deputation; ſome ſending for a Year, ſome for more, and others for Life. The Provinces of *Holland*, ſend to the States-General one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; Two Deputies choſen out of their Eight chief Towns; and One out of *North-Holland*; and with theſe, Two of their Provincial Council of State, and their *Penſioner*.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any Perſon in Military Charge, has Seſſion in the States-General. Every Province preſides their Week in turns,

and by the moſt qualified Perſon of the Deputies of that Province: He ſits in a Chair with Arms, at the middle of a long Table, capable of holding about Thirty Perſons; for about that Number this Council is uſually compoſed of. The *Greffier*, who is in nature of a Secretary, ſits at the lower end of the Table: When a Foreign Miniſter has Audience, he is ſeated at the middle of this Table, over-againſt the Preſident, who propoſes all Matters in this Aſſembly; makes the *Greffier* read all Papers; puts the Queſtion; calls the Voices of the Provinces; and forms the Concluſion. Or, if he refuſes to conclude according to the Plurality, he is obliged to reſign his Place to the Preſident of the enſuing Week, who concludes for him.

This is the Courſe in all Affairs before them, except in Caſes of Peace and War, of Foreign Alliances, of Raiſing or Coining of Monies, or the Privileges of each Province or Member of the Union. In all which, All the Provinces muſt concur, Plurality being not at all weighed or obſerved. This Council is not Sovereign, but only

only repreſents the Sovereignty; and therefore, though Ambaſſadors are both receiv'd and ſent in their Name; yet neither are their own choſen, nor Foreign Miniſters anſwer'd, nor any of thoſe mention'd Affairs reſolv'd, without conſulting firſt the States of each Province by their reſpective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them; and in other important Matters, though decided by Plurality, they frequently conſult with the Council of State.

Nor has this Method or Conſtitution ever been broken ſince their State began, excepting only in one Affair, which was in *January* 1668, when His Majeſty ſent me over to propoſe a League of Mutual Defence with this State, and another for the Preſervation of *Flanders* from the Invaſion of *France*, which had already conquered a great part of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, and left the reſt at the Mercy of the next *Campania*. Upon this Occaſion I had the Fortune to prevail with the States-General, to conclude Three Treaties, and upon them draw up and ſign the ſeveral Inſtruments, in the ſpace of Five Days; without paſſing the eſſential Forms of their Government

by any recourſe to the Provinces, which muſt likewiſe have had it to the ſeveral Cities: There, I knew, thoſe Foreign Miniſters, whoſe Duty and Intereſt it was to oppoſe this Affair, expected to meet, and to elude it, which could not have failed, in caſe it had run that Circle, ſince engaging the Voice of one City muſt have broken it. 'Tis true, that in concluding theſe Alliances without Commiſſion from their Principals, the Deputies of the States-General ventur'd their Heads, if they had been diſowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear evidence of ſo direct, and ſo important an Intereſt, (which muſt have been loſt by the uſual Delays,) they all agreed to run the hazard, and were ſo far from being diſowned, that they were applauded by all the Members of every Province: Having thereby changed the whole Face of Affairs in Chriſtendom, and laid the Foundation of the Tripple-Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix*, (which were concluded about Four Months after.) So great has the force of Reaſon and Intereſt ever prov'd in this State, not only to the uniting of all Voices in their

their Aſſemblies, but to the abſolving of the greateſt Breach of their Original Conſtitutions; even in a State, whoſe Safety and Greatneſs has been chiefly founded upon the ſevere and exact Obſervance of Order and Method, in all their Counſels and Executions. Nor have they ever us'd, at any other time, any greater means to agree and unite the ſeveral Members of their Union, in the Reſolutions neceſſary, upon the moſt preſſing Occaſions, than for the agreeing-Provinces to name ſome of their ableſt Perſons to go and confer with the diſſenting, and repreſent thoſe Reaſons and Intereſts, by which they have been induced to their Opinions.

The Council of State is compos'd of Deputies from the ſeveral Provinces, but after another manner than the States-General, the number being fix'd. *Gelderland* ſends Two, *Holland* Three, *Zealand* and *Utrecht* Two apiece, *Friezland*, *Overyſſel* and *Groninghen*, each of them One, making in all Twelve. They Vote not by Provinces, but by Perſonal Voices; and every Deputy preſides by Turns. In this Council the Governor of the Pro-

vinces has Seſſion, and a deciſive Voice; and the Treaſurer-General, Seſſion, but a Voice only deliberative; yet he has much Credit here, being for Life; and ſo is the Perſon deputed to this Council from the Nobles of *Holland*, and the Deputies of the Province of *Zealand*. The reſt are but for Two, Three, or Four Years.

The Council of State executes the Reſolution of the States-General; conſults and propoſes to them the moſt expedient ways of raiſing Troops, and levying Monies, as well as the Proportions of both, which they conceive neceſſary in all Conjunctures and Revolutions of the State: Superintends the Milice, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of Enemies Country, the Forms and Diſpoſal of all Paſsports, and the Affairs, Revenues, and Government of all Places conquer'd ſince the Union; which, being gain'd by the common Arms of this State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the End of every Year, this Council forms a State of the Expence they conceive will be neceſſary for the Year enſuing; preſents it to the States-General,

General, desiring them to demand so much of the States-Provincial, to be raised according to the usual Proportions, which are of 100000 Gr.

| | Grs. | St. | D. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Gelderland* | 3612 | 05 | 00 |
| *Holland* | 58309 | 01 | 10 |
| *Zealand* | 9183 | 14 | 02 |
| *Utrecht* | 5830 | 17 | 11 |
| *Friezland* | 11661 | 15 | 10 |
| *Overyssel* | 3571 | 08 | 04 |
| *Groningue* | 5930 | 17 | 11 |

This Petition, as 'tis call'd, is made to the States-General, in the Name of the Governor and Council of State, which is but a Continuance of the Forms used in the time of their Soveraigns, and still by the Governors and Council of State in the *Spanish Netherlands*: Petition signifying barely asking or demanding, tho' implying the Thing demanded to be wholly in the Right and Power of them that give. It was used by the first Counts, only upon extraordinary Occasions, and Necessities; but in the time of the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*, grew to be a thing of Course, and Annual,

as it is ſtill in the *Spaniſh* Provinces.

The Council of State diſpoſes of all Sums of Mony deſtin'd for all extraordinary Affairs, and expedites the Orders for the whole Expence of the State, upon the Reſolutions firſt taken, in the main, by the States-General. The Orders muſt be Signed by Three Deputies of ſeveral Provinces, as well as by the Treaſurer-General, and then Regiſtred in the Chamber of Accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any difficulty, charge, or delay.

Every Province raiſes what Monies it pleaſes, and by what ways or means; ſends its *Quota*, or ſhare, of the general Charge, to the Receiver-General, and converts the reſt to the preſent uſe, or reſerves it for the future Occaſions, of the Province.

The Chamber of Accounts was erected about Sixty Years ago, for the Eaſe of the Council of State, to examine and ſtate all Accounts of all the ſeveral Receivers, to Control and Regiſter the Orders of the Council of State, which diſpoſes of the Finances: And this Chamber is compos'd of Two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every Three Years. Be-

Beſides theſe Colleges, is the Council of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General, by Advice of the Council of State, have deſtin'd a Fleet of ſuch a Number and Force to be ſet out, have the abſolute Diſpoſition of the Marine Affairs, as well in the Choice and Equipage of all the ſeveral Ships, as in iſſuing the Monies allotted for that Service.

This College is ſubdivided into Five, of which Three are in *Holland*, viz. One in *Amſterdam*, another at *Rotterdam*, and the Third at *Horn*: The Fourth is at *Middlebourgh* in *Zealand*, and the Fifth at *Harlinguen* in *Friezland*. Each of theſe is compoſed of Seven Deputies, Four of that Province where the College reſides; and Three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his Abſence, the Vice-Admiral, has Seſſion in all theſe Colleges, and preſides when he is preſent. They take Cognizance of all Crimes committed at Sea; judge all Pirats that are taken, and all Frauds or Negligences in the Payment or Collections of the Cuſtoms; which are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and

and appliable to no other Uſe. This *Fond* being not ſufficient in times of War, is ſupplied by the States with whatever more is neceſſary from other *Fonds*; but in time of Peace, being little exhauſted by other conſtant Charge, beſides that of Convoys to their ſeveral Fleets of Merchants in all Parts, the Remainder of this Revenue is applied to the Building of great Ships of War, and furniſhing the ſeveral Arſenals and Stores with all ſorts of Proviſion, neceſſary for the Building and Rigging of more Ships than can be needed by the Courſe of a long War.

So ſoon as the Number and Force of the Fleets, deſign'd for any Expedition, is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the Council of State to the Admiralty; each particular College furniſhes their own Proportion, which is known as well as that of the ſeveral Provinces, in all Monies that are to be raiſed. In all which, the Admiral has no other Share or Advantage, beſides his bare Salary, and his proportion in Prizes that are taken. The Captains and Superior Officers of each Squadron are choſen by the ſeveral

veral Colleges; the number of Men appointed for every Ship: After which, each Captain uſes his beſt Diligence and Credit to fill his Number with the beſt Men he can get, and takes the whole care and charge of Victualling his own Ship for the Time intended for that Expedition, and ſignify'd to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain Rate of ſo much a Man. And by the good or ill Diſcharge of his Truſt, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons Medicines, and all things neceſſary for the Health of the Men, each Captain grows into good or ill credit with the Seamen, and, by their Report, with the Admiralties: Upon whoſe Opinion and Eſteem the Fortune of all Sea-Officers depends: So as, in all their Expeditions, there appears rather an Emulation among the particular Captains who ſhall treat his Seamen beſt in theſe Points, and employ the Monies alloted for their Victualling, to the beſt Advantage, than any little Knaviſh Practices, of filling their own Purſes by keeping their Men's Bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholſome Diet: Upon which, and upon Cleanlineſs in their Ships, the

Health

Health of many People crowded up into ſo little Rooms, ſeem chiefly to depend.

The Salaries of all the Great Officers of this State, are very ſmall: I have already mention'd that of a Burgomaſter's of *Amſterdam* to be about Fifty Pounds *ſterling* a Year: That of their Vice-Admiral (for ſince the laſt Prince of *Orange*'s Death, to the Year 1670, there had been no Admiral) is Five Hundred, and that of the *Penſioner* of *Holland* Two Hundred.

The Greatneſs of this State ſeems much to conſiſt in theſe Orders, how confuſed ſoever, and of different Pieces, they may ſeem: But more in two main Effects of them, which are, The good choice of the Officers of chief Truſt in the Cities, Provinces, and State: And the great Simplicity and Modeſty in the common Port or Living of their chiefeſt Miniſters; without which, the Abſoluteneſs of the Senates in each Town, and the Immenſity of Taxes throughout the whole State, would never be endured by the People with any patience; being both of them greater than in many of thoſe Governments, which are eſteem'd moſt Arbi-

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trary among their Neighbours. But in the Aſſemblies and Debates of their Senates, every Man's Abilities are diſcovered, as their Diſpoſitions are, in the Conduct of their Lives and Domeſtick, among their fellow-Citizens. The Obſervation of theſe either raiſes, or ſuppreſſes, the Credit of particular Men, both among the People, and the Senates of their Towns; who, to maintain their Authority with leſs popular Envy or Diſcontent, give much to the general Opinion of the People in the choice of their Magiſtrates: By this means it comes to paſs, that, though perhaps the Nation generally be not wiſe, yet the Government is, Becauſe it is compoſed of the wiſeſt of the Nation; which may give it an Advantage over many others, where Ability is of more common Growth, but of leſs Uſe to the Publick; if it happens that neither Wiſdom nor Honeſty are the Qualities, which bring Men to the Management of State-Affairs, as they uſually do in this Commonwealth.

Beſides, though theſe People, who are naturally Cold and Heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furniſh a pleaſant or agreeable Converſation, yet they

they want not plain down-right Sense to understand and do their Business both publick and private, which is a Talent very different from the other; and I know not, whether they often meet: For the First proceeds from Heat of the Brain, which makes the Spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the motions of Thought lighter and quicker, and the Range of Imagination much greater than in cold Heads, where the Spirits are more earthy and dull: Thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the Impressions of it are deeper, and last longer: One Imagination being not so frequently, nor so easily, effaced by another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller Men more constant and steady, and quicker Men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest Ability in Business seems to be the steady pursuit of some one thing, 'till there is an End of it, with perpetual Application and Endeavour not to be diverted by every Representation of new Hopes or Fears of Difficulty or Danger, or of some better Design. The first of these Talents cuts like a Razor, the other like a Hatchet: One has Thin-

Thinneſs of Edge, and Fineneſs of Metal and Temper, but is eaſily turn'd by any Subſtance that is hard, and reſiſts. T'other has Toughneſs and Weight, which makes it cut through, or go deep, where-ever it falls; and therefore one is for Adornment, and t'other for Uſe.

It may be ſaid further, that the Heat of the Heart commonly goes along with that of the Brain; ſo that Paſſions are warmer, where Imaginations are quicker: And there are few Men, (unleſs in caſe of ſome evident Natural Defect) but have Senſe enough to diſtinguiſh in groſs between Right and Wrong, between Good and Bad, when repreſented to them; and conſequently have Judgment enough to do their Buſineſs, if it be left to it ſelf, and not ſwayed nor corrupted by ſome Humor or Paſſion, by Anger or Pride, by Love or by Scorn, Ambition or Avarice, Delight or Revenge; ſo that the Coldneſs of Paſſions ſeems to be the natural ground of Ability and Honeſty among Men, as the Government or Moderation of them the great End of Philoſophical and Moral Inſtructions. Theſe Speculations may perhaps a little leſſen the common Wonder, How we ſhould

meet

meet with in one Nation ſo little ſhew of Parts, and of Wit, and ſo great Evidence of Wiſdom and Prudence, as has appear'd in the Conduct and Succeſſes of this State, for near an Hundred Years: which needs no other Teſtimony, than the mighty Growth and Power it arriv'd to, from ſo weak and contemptible Seeds and Beginnings.

The other Circumſtance, I mentioned as an Occaſion of their Greatneſs, was, the Simplicity and Modeſty of their Magiſtrates in their way of Living; which is ſo general, that I never knew One among them exceed the common frugal popular Air; and ſo great, that of the Two chief Officers in my Time, Vice-Admiral *De Ruiter*, and the Penſioner *De Wit*; (One, generally eſteemed by Foreign Nations, as great a Seaman; and the other, as great a States-man, as any of their Age,) I never ſaw the firſt in Cloaths better than the commoneſt Sea-Captain, nor with above one Man following him, nor in a Coach: And in his own Houſe, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture, or Entertainment, at all exceeding the Uſe of every common Merchant and Tradeſman in his Town.

For

For the Penſioner *De Wit*, who had the great Influence in the Government, the whole Train and Expence of his Domeſtick went very equal with other common Deputies or Miniſters of the State; His Habit grave, and plain, and popular; His Table, what only ſerv'd turn for his Family, or a Friend; His Train (beſides Commiſſaries and Clerks kept for him in an Office adjoining to his Houſe, at the publick Charge,) was only one Man, who perform'd all the Menial Service of his Houſe at home; and upon his Viſits of Ceremony, putting on a plain Livery-Cloak, attended his Coach abroad: For, upon other occaſions, He was ſeen uſually in the Streets on foot and alone, like the commoneſt Burgher of the Town. Nor was this manner of Life affected, or us'd only by theſe particular Men, but was the general faſhion and mode among all the Magiſtrates of the State: For I ſpeak not of the Military Officers, who are reckon'd their Servants, and live in a different Garb, though generally modeſter than in other Countries.

Thus this ſtomachful People, who could not endure the leaſt Exerciſe of

Arbitrary Power or Impoſitions, or the ſight of any Foreign Troops under the *Spaniſh* Government; Have been ſince inured to all of them, in the higheſt Degree, under their own popular Magiſtrates; Bridled with hard Laws; Terrified with ſevere Executions; Environ'd with Foreign Forces; And oppreſt with the moſt cruel Hardſhip and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government. But all this, whilſt the way to Office and Authority lies through thoſe Qualities, which acquire the general Eſteem of the People; Whilſt no Man is exempted from the Danger and Current of Laws; Whilſt Soldiers are confin'd to Frontier-Garriſons, (the Guard of Inland, or Trading Towns being left to the Burghers themſelves;) And whilſt no great Riches are ſeen to enter by publick Payments into private Purſes, either to raiſe Families, or to feed the prodigal Expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious Men; But all publick Monies are applied to the Safety, Greatneſs, or Honour of the State, and the Magiſtrates themſelves bear an equal Share in all the Burthens they impoſe.

The

The Authoriry of the Princes of *Orange*, though intermitted upon the untimely Death of the laſt, and Infancy of this preſent Prince; Yet, as it muſt be ever acknowledg'd to have had a moſt eſſential part in the firſt Frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole Growth and Progreſs of the State: So, has it ever preſerv'd a very ſtrong Root, not only in Six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular Affections of the Province of *Holland* it ſelf, whoſe States have, for theſe laſt Twenty Years, ſo much endeavour'd to ſuppreſs, or exclude, it. *The Authority of the Princes of Orange.*

This began in the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Naſſaw*, at the very Birth of the State; and not ſo much by the Quality of being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand* in *Charles* the Fifth's, and *Philip* the Second's time; as by the eſteem of ſo great Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Courage, as excell'd in that Prince, and ſeems to have been from him deriv'd to his whole Race, being, indeed, the Qualities that naturally acquire Eſteem and Authority among the People, in all Governments.

Nor has this Nation in particular, ſince the Time perhaps of *Civilis*, ever been without ſome Head, under ſome Title or other; but always an Head ſubordinate to their Laws and Cuſtoms, and to the Sovereign Power of the State.

In the firſt Conſtitution of this Government, after the Revolt from *Spain*, All the Power and Rights of Prince *William* of *Orange*, as Governor of the Provinces, ſeem to have been carefully reſerv'd. But thoſe which remain'd inherent in the Soveraign, were devolved upon the Aſſembly of the States-General, ſo as in them remain'd the Power of making Peace and War, and all Foreign Alliances, and of raiſing and coining of Monies. In the Prince, the Command of all Land and Sea-Forces, as Captain-General and Admiral, and thereby the Diſpoſition of all Military Commands; The Power of pardoning the Penalty of Crimes; The chuſing of Magiſtrates upon the Nomination of the Towns; For they preſented Three to the Prince, who elected One out of that number. Originally the States-General were convoked

voked by the Council of State, where the Prince had the greateſt Influence: Nor, ſince that change, have the States uſed to reſolve any important Matter without his Advice. Beſides all this, as the States-General repreſented the Sovereignty, ſo did the Prince of *Orange* the Dignity, of this State, by publick Guards, and the Attendance of all Military Officers; By the Application of all Foreign Miniſters, and all Pretenders at home; By the Splendor of his Court, and Magnificence of his Expence, ſupported not only by the Penſions and Rights of his ſeveral Charges and Commands, but by a mighty Patrimonial Revenue in Lands and Sovereign Principalities, and Lordſhips, as well in *France*, *Germany*, and *Burgundy*, as in the ſeveral parts of the Seventeen Provinces; ſo as Prince *Henry* was uſed to anſwer ſome, that would have flatter'd him into the Deſigns of a more Arbitrary Power, That he had as much as any wiſe Prince would deſire in that State; ſince he wanted none indeed, beſides that of Puniſhing Men, and raiſing Mony; whereas he had rather the Envy of the firſt

ſhould lye upon the Forms of the Government; and he knew the other could never be ſupported without the Conſent of the People, to that degree which was neceſſary for the Defence of ſo ſmall a State, againſt ſo mighty Princes as their Neighbours.

Upon theſe Foundations was this State firſt eſtabliſh'd, and by theſe Orders maintain'd, 'till the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange:* When, by the great Influence of the Province of *Holland* amongſt the reſt, the Authority of the Princes came to be ſhar'd among the ſeveral Magiſtracies of the State; Thoſe of the Cities aſſum'd the laſt Nomination of their ſeveral Magiſtrates; The States-Provincial, the Diſpoſal of all Military Commands in thoſe Troops, which their Share was to pay; and the States-General, the Command of the Armies, by Officers of their own Appointment, ſubſtituted and changed at their Will. No Power remain'd to pardon what was once condemn'd by Rigor of Law; nor any Perſon to repreſent the Port and Dignity of a Sovereign State: Both which could not fail of being ſenſibly miſs'd

by

by the People; ſince no Man in particular can be ſecure of offending, or would therefore abſolutely deſpair of Impunity himſelf, though he would have others do ſo; and Men are generally pleaſed with the Pomp and Splendor of a Government, not only as it is an Amuſement for idle People, but as it is a Mark of the Greatneſs, Honour and Riches, of their Country.

However, theſe Defects were for near Twenty Years ſupply'd in ſome meaſure, and this Frame ſupported by the great Authority and Riches of the Province of *Holland*, which drew a ſort of Dependance from the other Six; and by the great Sufficiency, Integrity, and Conſtancy of their Chief Miniſter, and by the Effect of both in the proſperous Succeſſes of their Affairs: Yet having been a Conſtitution ſtrained againſt the current Vein and Humour of the People; It was always evident, that upon the Growth of this young Prince, the great Virtues and Qualities he deriv'd from the Mixture of ſuch Royal and ſuch Princely Blood, could not fail, in time, of raiſing his Authority to equal,



MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

at leaſt, if not to ſurpaſs that of his Glorious Anceſtors.

Becauſe the Curious may deſire to know ſomething of the other Provinces, as well as *Holland*, at leaſt, in general, and where they differ; It may be obſerv'd, That the Conſtitutions of *Gelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, agree much with thoſe of *Holland*; the States in each Province being compos'd of Deputies from the Nobles and the Cities; But with theſe ſmall Differences; In *Gelderland*, all the Nobles, that have certain Fees, or Lordſhips, in the Province, have Seſſion, they compoſe one half of the States, and the Deputies of the Towns the other; and though ſome certain Perſons among them are deputed to the States-General; yet any of the Nobles of *Gelder* may have place there, if he will attend at his own Charge.

In *Zealand*, the Nobility having been extinguiſh'd in the *Spaniſh* Wars; And the Prince of *Orange* poſſeſſing the Marquiſats of *Fluſhing* and *Terveer*, His Highneſs alone makes that part of the States in the Province, by the Quality and Title of Firſt, or Sole, Noble of *Zealand*;

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*Zealand*; And thereby has, by his Deputy, the firſt Place, and Voice, in the States of the Province, the Council of State, and Chamber of Accounts: As Soveraign of *Fluſhing* and *Terveer*, he likewiſe creates the Magiſtrates, and conſequently diſpoſes the Voices, not only of the Nobles, but alſo of Two Towns, whereas there are in all but Six, that ſend their Deputies to the States, and make up the Sovereignty of the Province.

In *Utrecht*, beſides the Deputies of the Nobles, and Towns, Eight Delegates of the Clergy have Seſſion, and make a third Member in the States of the Province. Theſe are elected out of the four great Chapters of the Town, the Preferments and Revenues whereof, (though anciently Eccleſiaſtical) yet are now poſſeſſed by Lay-perſons, who are moſt of them Gentlemen of the Province.

The Government of the Province of *Friezland* is wholly different from that of the Four Provinces already mentioned; and is compoſed of Four Members, which are call'd, The Quarter of *Oſtergo*, conſiſting of Eleven Baillages; Of *Weſtergo*, conſiſting of Nine; and of *Seveawolden*, conſiſting of Ten.

Ten. Each Baillage comprehends a certain number of Villages, Ten, Twelve, Fifteen, or Twenty, according to their ſeveral Extents. The Fourth Member conſiſts of the Towns of the Province, which are Eleven in Number. Theſe Four Members have each of them right of ſending their Deputies to the States, that is, Two choſen out of every Baillage, and Two out of every Town. And theſe repreſent the Sovereignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude of all Affairs, of what Importance ſoever, without any Recourſe to thoſe who deputed them, or Obligation to know their Intentions, which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are ſtrictly bound to, and either muſt follow the Inſtructions they bring with them to the Aſſembly, or know the Reſolution of their Principals before they conclude of any new Affair, that ariſes.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles of the Towns chuſe the Deputies which compoſe the States, but in *Friezland* the Conſtitution is of quite another ſort. For every Baillage, which is compos'd of a certain Extent of Country, and Number of Villages, (as has been ſaid)

ſaid) is Govern'd by a Bailly, whom in their Language they call *Greetman*, and this Officer Governs his Circuit, with the Aſſiſtance of a certain number of Perſons, who are call'd his Aſſeſſors, who, together, judge of all Civil Cauſes, in the firſt inſtance, but with appeal to the Court of Juſtice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Bailly aſſembles together all the Perſons of what Quality ſoever, who poſſeſs a certain Quantity of Land within his Diſtrict, and theſe Men, by moſt Voices, name the Two Deputies which each Baillage ſends to the Aſſembly of the States.

This Aſſembly, as it repreſents the Sovereignty of the Province; ſo it diſpoſes of all vacant Charges, chuſes the Nine Deputies, who compoſe that permanent College, which is the Council of State of the Province; And likewiſe Twelve Counſellors, (that is, Three for every Quarter) who compoſe the Court of Juſtice of the Province, and judge of all Civil Cauſes in the laſt Reſort, but of all Criminal from the firſt Inſtance. There being no other Criminal Juriſdiction, but this only, through the Province: Whereas, in the other

Pro-

Provinces, there is no Town which has it not within it ſelf: And ſeveral, both Lords, and Villages, have the High and Low Juſtice belonging to them.

In the Province of *Groningue*, which is upon the ſame Tract of Land, the Elections of the Deputies out of the Country are made as in *Friezland*, by Perſons poſſeſs'd of ſet Proportions of Land; but in *Overyſſel*, all Nobles, who are qualify'd by having Seigneurial Lands, make a part of the States.

Theſe Three Provinces, with *Weſtphalia*, and all thoſe Countries between the *Wezer*, the *Yſſel*, and the *Rhine*, were the Seat of the ancient *Friſons*, who, under the Name of *Saxons*, (given them from the Weapon they wore, made like a Sithe, with the Edge outwards, and call'd in their Language *Seaxes*) were the fierce Conquerors of our *Britiſh* Iſland, being call'd in upon the Deſertion of the *Roman* Forces, and the cruel Incurſions of the *Picts* againſt a People, whoſe long Wars, at firſt with the *Romans*, and afterwards Servitude under them, had exhauſted all the braveſt Blood of their Nation, either

either in their own, or their Maſters, ſucceeding Quarrels, and depreſs'd the Hearts and Courages of the reſt.

The Biſhop of *Munſter*, whoſe Territories lye in this Tract of Land, gave me the firſt certain Evidences of thoſe being the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*, which have ſince been confirmed to me by many things I have obſerved in reading the Stories of thoſe Times, and by what has been affirmed to me upon Enquiry of the *Frizons* old Language, having ſtill ſo great Affinity with our old *Engliſh*, as to appear eaſily to have been the ſame; moſt of their Words ſtill retaining the ſame Signification and Sound; very different from the Language of the *Hollanders*. This is the moſt remarkable in a little Town called *Malcuera*, upon the *Zudder* Sea, in *Friezland*, which is ſtill built after the Faſhion of the old *German* Villages, deſcrib'd by *Tacitus*; without any uſe or obſervation of Lines or Angles; but as if every Man had built in a common Field, juſt where he had a mind, ſo as a Stranger, when he goes in, muſt have a Guide to find the way out again.

Upon

Upon theſe Informations, and Remarks, and the particular Account afterwards given me of the Conſtitutions of the Province of *Friezland*, ſo different from the others; I began to make Reflections upon them, as the likelieſt Originals of many ancient Conſtitutions among us, of which, no others can be found, and which may ſeem to have been introduc'd by the *Saxons* here, and by their long and abſolute Poſſeſſion of that part of the Iſle, called *England*, to have been ſo planted and rooted among us, as to have waded ſafe, in a great meaſure, through the ſucceeding Inundations and Conqueſts of the *Daniſh* and *Norman* Nations. And, perhaps, there may be much Matter found for the curious Remarks of ſome diligent, and ſtudious Antiquaries, in the Compariſons of the *Bailli* or *Greetman* among the *Friſons*, with our *Sheriffe:* Of their *Aſſeſſors*, with our *Juſtices* of Peace: Of their Judging Civil Cauſes in their Diſtrict, upon the firſt Reſort, but not without Appeal, with the Courſe of our Quarter-Seſſions: Of their chief Judicature, being compoſed of Counſellors, of Four ſeveral Quarters, with our Four Circuits:

Of

Of theſe being the common Criminal Judicature of the Country: Of the Compoſition of their States, with our Parliament, at leaſt, our Houſe of Commons: In the particulars of Two Deputies, being choſen from each Town, as with us, and Two from each Baillage, as from each Country here: And theſe laſt by Voices of all Perſons, poſſeſs'd of a certain Quantity of Land; And at a Meeting aſſembled by the *Greetman* to that purpoſe; And theſe Deputies having power to reſolve of all Matters without Reſort to thoſe that choſe 'em, or knowledge of their Intentions; which are all Circumſtances agreeing with our Conſtitutions, but abſolutely differing from thoſe of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the compoſition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly, uſed in the other Nations of *Europe*.

To this Original, I ſuppoſe, we likewiſe owe what I have often wonder'd at, that in *England* we neither ſee, nor find upon Record, any Lord, or Lordſhip, that pretends to have the Exerciſe of Judicature belong to it, either that which is called High, or Low, Juſtice, which ſeems to be a Badge of

of ſome ancient Sovereignty: Though we ſee them very frequent among our Neighbours, both under more arbitrary Monarchies, and under the moſt free and popular States.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of their* SITUATION.

*Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friezland* and *Groninguen*, are ſeated upon the Sea, and make the Strength and Greatneſs of this State: The other Three, with the conquer'd Towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleve*, make only the Outworks or Frontiers, ſerving chiefly for Safety and Defence of theſe. No Man can tell the ſtrange and mighty Changes, that may have been made in the Face and Bounds of Maritime Countries, at one time or other, by furious Inundations, upon the unuſual Concurrence of Land-Floods, Winds, and Tides; and therefore no Man knows, whether the Province of *Holland*, may not have been, in ſome paſt Ages, all Wood, and rough unequal Ground, as ſome old Traditions go; and levell'd to what we ſee, by the Sea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the Land; ſince, recover'd by its Receſs, and with the help of Induſtry. For it is evident, that the Sea, for ſome ſpace of Years, advances con-

tinually upon one Coaſt, retiring from the oppoſite; and in another Age, quite changes this courſe, yielding up what it had ſeized, and ſeizing what it had yielded up, without any Reaſon to be given of ſuch contrary Motions. But, I ſuppoſe, this great Change was made in *Holland*, when the Sea firſt parted *England* from the Continent, breaking through a Neck of Land between *Dover* and *Calais*; Which may be a Tale, but I am ſure is no Record. It is certain, on the contrary, that Sixteen Hundred Years ago, there was no uſual Mention or Memory of any ſuch Changes; and that the face of all theſe Coaſts, and nature of the Soil, eſpecially that of *Holland*, was much as it is now, allowing only the Improvements of Riches, Time, and Induſtry; which appears by the Deſcription made in *Tacitus*, both of the Limits of the Iſle of *Batavia*, and the Nature of the Soil, as well as the Climate, with the very Names, and courſe of Rivers, ſtill remaining.

*Rhenus apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, ad Gallicam ripam latior & placidior verſo cognomento Vahalem accolæ dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Moſa flumine, ejuſque immenſo ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.*

*Cum interim flexu Autumni & crebris imbribus ſuperfuſus amnis paluſtrem humilemque Inſulam in faciem Stagni opplevit.*

'Tis

'Tis likely, the Changes arrived ſince that Age in theſe Countries, may have been made by Stoppages grown in time, with the rolling of Sands upon the Mouths of Three great Rivers, which diſembogued into the Sea through the Coaſts of theſe Provinces; that is, the *Rhine*, the *Moſe*, and the *Scheld*. The ancient *Rhine* divided, where *Skenckſconce* now ſtands, into two Rivers; of which, one kept the Name, 'till running near *Leyden*, it fell into the Sea at *Catwick*; where are ſtill ſeen, at low Tides, the Foundations of an ancient *Roman* Caſtle that commanded the Mouth of this River: But this is wholly ſtopt up, though a great Canal ſtill preſerves the Name of the *Old Rhine*. The *Moſe*, running by *Dort* and *Rotterdam*, fell, as it now does, into the Sea at the *Briel*, with mighty iſſues of Water; but the Sands, gather'd for Three or Four Leagues upon this Coaſt, make the Haven extream dangerous, without great skill of Pilots, and uſe of Pilot-boats, that come out with every Tide, to welcome and ſecure the Ships bound for that River: And it is probable, that theſe Sands, having obſtructed the free Courſe of

the River has at times cauſed or encreas'd thoſe Inundations, out of which ſo many Iſlands have been recover'd, and of which, that part of the Country is ſo much compos'd.

The *Scheld* ſeems to have had its Iſſue by *Walcherin* in *Zealand*, which was an Iſland in the Mouth of that River, 'till the Inundations of that, and the *Moſe*, ſeem to have been join'd together, by ſome great Helps, or Irruptions of the Sea, by which, the whole Country was overwhelmed, which now makes that Inland-Sea, that ſerves for a common Paſſage between *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*: The Sea, for ſome Leagues from *Zealand*, lyes generally upon ſuch Banks of Sand, as it does upon the Mouth of the *Maze*, though ſeparated by ſomething better Channels than are found in the other.

That which ſeems likelieſt to have been the occaſion of ſtopping up wholly one of theſe Rivers, and obſtructing the others, is the courſe of Weſterly Winds, (which drive upon this Shore) being ſo much more conſtant and violent than the Eaſt: For, taking the Seaſons, and Years, one with another,

ther, I ſuppoſe, there will be obſerv'd three parts of Weſterly for one Eaſterly Winds: Beſides, that theſe generally attend the calm Froſts and fair Weather; and the other the ſtormy and foul. And I have had occaſion to make Experiment of the Sands riſing and ſinking before a Haven, by two fits of theſe contrary Winds, above four Foot. This, I preſume, is likewiſe the natural Reaſon of ſo many deep and commodious Havens found upon all the *Engliſh* ſide of the Channel, and ſo few, (or indeed none) upon the *French* and *Dutch*: An Advantage ſeeming to be given us by Nature, and never to be equall'd by any Art, or Expence, of our Neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient Authors of that, which is now call'd the *Zudder-Sea*; which makes me imagine, That may have been form'd likewiſe by ſome great Inundation, breaking in between the *Teſſel*-Iſlands, and others, that lye ſtill in a Line contiguous, and like the broken remainders of a continu'd Coaſt. This ſeems more probable, from the great ſhallowneſs of that Sea, and flatneſs of the Sands, upon the whole Extent of it;

from the violent Rage of the Waters breaking in that way, which threaten the parts of *North-Holland* about *Medenblick* and *Enchuſen*, and brave it over the higheſt and ſtrongeſt Digues of the Province, upon every High Tide, and ſtorm at North-weſt. As likewiſe from the Names of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Friezland*, which ſhould have been one Continent, 'till divided by this Sea: For, in the Time of *Tacitus*, no other Diſtinction was known, but that of Greater or Leſſer *Frizons*, and that only from the meaſure of their Numbers, or Forces; and though they were ſaid to have great Lakes among them, yet that Word ſeems to import they were of freſh Water, which is made yet plainer by the Word * *Ambiunt*, that ſhews thoſe Lakes to have been inhabited round by theſe Nations; from all this I ſhould gueſs, that the more Inland part of the *Zudder* Sea, was one of the Lakes there mention'd, between which and the *Teſſell* and *Ulie* Iſlands, there lay anciently a great Tract of Land, (where the Sands are ſtill ſo ſhallow, and ſo continu'd, as ſeems to make

*A fronte Friſii excipiunt Majoribus Minoribuſque Friſiis vocabulum, ex modo virium utraque Nationes uſq; ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur * ambiuntq; immenſos inſuper lacus.* Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

make it evident:) But ſince covered by ſome great Irruptions of Waters, that joined thoſe of the Sea, and the Lake together, and thereby made that great Bay, now call'd the *Zudder Sea*, by favour whereof the Town of *Amſterdam* has grown to be the moſt frequented Haven of the World.

Whatever it was, whether Nature or Accident, and upon what Occaſion ſoever it arriv'd, The Soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat, like the Sea in a Calm, and looks as if after a long Contention between Land and Water, which It ſhould belong to, It had at length been divided between them: For to conſider the great Rivers, and the ſtrange number of Canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great Town, but almoſt to every Village, and every Farm-Houſe in the Country; and the Infinity of Sails that are ſeen every where courſing up and down upon them; one would imagine the Water to have ſhar'd with the Land; and the People that live in Boats, to hold ſome proportion with thoſe that live in Houſes. And this is one great Advantage towards Trade, which

is natural to the Situation, and not to be attained in any Country, where there is not the ſame level and ſoftneſs of Soil, which makes the cutting of Canals ſo eaſie Work, as to be attempted almoſt by every private Man: And one Horſe ſhall draw in a Boat more than fifty can do by Cart, whereas Carriage makes a great part of the Price in all heavy Commodities: And by this eaſie way of Travelling, an induſtrious Man loſes no time from his Buſineſs, for he Writes, or Eats, or Sleeps, while he goes; whereas the Time of Labouring or Induſtrious Men, is the greateſt Native Commodity of any Country.

There is, beſides, one very great Lake of freſh Water ſtill remaining in the midſt of this Province, by the name of *Harle Maer*, which might, as they ſay, be eaſily drained, and would thereby make a mighty Addition of Land to a Country, where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great quantity of People, in which they abound, and who make their Greatneſs and Riches. Much Diſcourſe there has been about ſuch an Attempt, but the City of *Leyden* having no other way of refreſh-

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ing their Town, or renewing the Water of their Canals, but from this *Maer*, will never conſent to it. On the other ſide, *Amſterdam* will ever oppoſe the opening and cleanſing of the old Channel of the *Rhine*, which, they ſay, might eaſily be compaſſed, and by which, the Town of *Leyden* would grow Maritime, and ſhare a great part of the Trade now engroſſed by *Amſterdam*. There is in *North-Holland* an Eſſay already made, at the poſſibility of draining theſe great Lakes, by one, of about two Leagues broad, having been made firm Land, within this Forty Years: This makes that part of the Country called the *Bemſter*, being now the richeſt Soil of the Province, lying upon a dead flat, divided with Canals, and the Ways through it diſtinguiſh'd with Ranges of Trees, which make the pleaſanteſt Summer-Landſchip of any Country I have ſeen, of that ſort.

Another Advantage of their Situation of Trade, is made by thoſe Two great Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Moſe*, reaching up, and Navigable, ſo mighty a length, into ſo rich and populous Countries of the Higher and Lower *Germany*,

*Germany*; which as it brings down all the Commodities from thoſe Parts to the Magazines of *Holland*, that vent them by their Shipping into all Parts of the World, where the Market calls for them; ſo, with ſomething more Labour and Time, it returns all the Merchandizes of other Parts, into thoſe Countries, that are ſeated upon theſe Streams. For their commodious Seat, as to the Trade of the *Streights*, or *Baltique*, or any Parts of the Ocean, I ſee no Advantage they have of moſt Parts of *England*; and they muſt certainly yield to many we poſſeſs, if we had other equal Circumſtances to value them.

The Lowneſs and Flatneſs of their Lands, makes in a great meaſure the Richneſs of their Soil, that is eaſily overflow'd every Winter, ſo as the whole Country, at that Seaſon, ſeems to lye under Water, which, in Spring, is driven out again by Mills. But that which mends the Earth, ſpoils the Air, which would be all Fog and Miſt, if it were not clear'd by the ſharpneſs of their Froſts, which never fail with every Eaſt Wind for about Four Months of the Year, and are much fiercer than

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in the ſame Latitude with us, becauſe that Wind comes to them over a mighty length of dry Continent; but is moiſtned by the Vapours, or ſoften'd by the warmth of the Seas motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greateſt Diſadvantage of Trade they receive from their Situation, though neceſſary to their Health; becauſe many times their Havens are all ſhut up for Two or Three Months with Ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce Sharpneſs of theſe Winds makes the Changes of their Weather and Seaſons more violent and ſurpriſing, than in any place I know; ſo as a warm faint Air turns in a Night to a ſharp Froſt, with the Wind coming into the North-Eaſt: And the contrary with another Change of Wind. The Spring is much ſhorter, and leſs agreeable, than with us; the Winter much colder, and ſome parts of the Summer much hotter; and I have known more than once, the violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold Fit of an Ague to the hot, without any good Temper between.

The Flatneſs of their Land expoſes it

it to the danger of the Sea, and forces them to infinite Charge in the continual Fences and Repairs of their Banks to oppoſe it; which employ yearly more Men, than all the Corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain, (as one of their chief Miniſters has told me.) They have lately found the common Sea-weed to be the beſt Material for theſe Digues, which faſten'd with a thin mixture of Earth, yields a little to the force of the Sea, and returns when the Waves give back: Whether, they are thereby the ſafer againſt Water, as, they ſay, Houſes that ſhake are againſt Wind; or whether, as pious Naturaliſts obſerve, all things carry about them that which ſerves for a Remedy againſt the miſchief they do in the World.

The extream moiſture of the Air, I take to be the occaſion of the great neatneſs in their Houſes, and cleanlineſs in their Towns. For without the help of thoſe Cuſtoms, their Country would not be habitable by ſuch Crowds of People, but the Air would corrupt upon every hot Seaſon, and expoſe the Inhabitants to general and infectious Diſeaſes; which they hardly

hardly eſcape three Summers together, eſpecially about *Leyden*, where the Waters are not ſo eaſily renew'd, and for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neateſt and cleanlieſt kept, of all their Towns.

The ſame moiſture of Air makes all Metals apt to ruſt, and Wood to mould; which forces them, by continual Pains of rubbing and ſcouring, to ſeek a Prevention, or Cure: This makes the brightneſs and cleanneſs that ſeems affected in their Houſes, and is call'd natural to them, by People who think no further. So the deepneſs of their Soil, and wetneſs of Seaſons, which would render it unpaſſable, forces them, not only to exactneſs of Paving in their Streets, but to the expence of ſo long Cawſies between many of their Towns, and in their High-ways. As indeed, moſt National Cuſtoms are the Effect of ſome unſeen, or unobſerved, natural Cauſes, or Neceſſities.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of their People and Diſpoſitions.*

THE People of *Holland* may be divided into theſe ſeveral Claſſes: The Clowns or Boors, (as they call them,) who cultivate the Land. The Mariners or Schippers, who ſupply their Ships, and Inland-Boats. The Merchants or Traders, who fill their Towns. The *Renteeners*, or Men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents or Intereſt of Eſtates formerly acquir'd in their Families: And the Gentlemen, and Officers of their Armies.

The firſt are a Race of People diligent rather than laborious; dull and ſlow of Underſtanding, and ſo not dealt with by haſty Words, but manag'd eaſily by ſoft and fair; and yielding to plain Reaſon, if you give them time to underſtand it. In the Country and Villages, not too near the great Towns, they ſeem plain and honeſt, and content with their own; ſo that if,

if, in Bounty, you give them a Shilling for what is worth but a Groat, they will take the current Price, and give you the reſt again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and ſometimes ask, if you are a Fool. They know no other Good, but the Supply of what Nature requires, and the common increaſe of Wealth. They feed moſt upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and by that means, I ſuppoſe, neither their Strength, nor Vigour, ſeems anſwerable to the Size, or Bulk, of their Bodies.

The Mariners are a plain, but much rougher People; whether from the Element they live in, or from their Food, which is generally Fiſh, and Corn, and heartier than that of the Boors. They are Surly, and Ill-manner'd, which is miſtaken for Pride; but, I believe, is learnt, as all Manners are, by the Converſation we uſe. Now theirs lying only among one another, or with Winds and Waves, which are not mov'd or wrought upon by any Language, or Obſervance; or to be dealt with, but by Pains, and by Patience: Theſe are all the Qualities their Mariners have learnt; their Valour

lour is *Paſſive* rather than *Active*; and their Language is little more, than what is of neceſſary uſe to their Buſineſs.

The Merchants and Tradeſmen, both the greater and Mechanick, living in Towns that are of great reſort, both by Strangers and Paſſengers of their own, are more *Mercurial*, (Wit being ſharpen'd by Commerce and Converſation of Cities,) though they are not very inventive, which is the Gift of warmer Heads; yet are they great in Imitation, and ſo far, many times, as goes beyond the Originals: Of mighty Induſtry, and conſtant Application to the Ends, they propoſe and purſue. They make uſe of their Skill, and their Wit, to take Advantage of other Mens Ignorance and Folly, they deal with, are great Exacters, where the Law is in their own Hands. In other Points, where they deal with Men that underſtand like themſelves, and are under the reach of Juſtice and Laws, they are the plaineſt and beſt Dealers in the World; which ſeems not to grow ſo much from a Principle of Conſcience, or Morality, as from a Cuſtom or Habit intro-

introduced by the neceſſity of Trade among them, which depends as much upon Common Honeſty, as War does upon Diſcipline; and without which all would break up, Merchants would turn Pedlars, and Soldiers Thieves.

Thoſe Families which live upon their Patrimonial Eſtates in all the great Cities, are a People differently bred, and manner'd from the Traders, though like them in the Modeſty of Garb and Habit, and the Parſimony of living. Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Univerſities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common Studies of Human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Country, at leaſt as far as it is ſo in *France* and *Spain*. For, (as much as I underſtand of thoſe Countries) no Deciſions or Decrees of the Civil Law, nor Conſtitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, have the Force or Current of Law among them, as is commonly believ'd, but only the Force of Reaſons when alledged before their Courts of Judicature, as far as the Authority of Men eſteemed wiſe, paſſes for Reaſon: But the ancient Cuſtoms of thoſe ſeveral

Countries, and the Ordonnances of their Kings and Princes, conſented to by the Eſtates, or in *France* verify'd by Parliaments, have only the Strength and Authority of Law among them.

Where theſe Families are rich, their Youths, after the courſe of their Studies at home, travel for ſome Years, as the Sons of our Gentry uſe to do; but their Journies are chiefly into *England* and *France*, not much into *Italy*, ſeldomer into *Spain*, nor often into the more Northern Countries, unleſs in Company of Train of their Publick Miniſters. The chief End of their Breeding, is, to make them fit for the Service of their Country in the Magiſtracy of their Towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of theſe kind of Men are the Civil Officers of this Government generally compoſed, being deſcended of Families, who have many times been conſtantly in the Magiſtracy of their Native Towns for many Years, and ſome for ſeveral Ages.

Such were moſt or all of the chief Miniſters, and the Perſons that compoſed their chief Councils, in the time of my Reſidence among them, and not

Men

Men of mean or Mechanick Trades, as it is commonly receiv'd among Foreigners, and makes the Subject of Comical Jeſts upon their Government. This does not exclude many Merchants, or Traders in groſs, from being often ſeen in the Offices of their Cities, and ſometimes deputed to their States; nor ſeveral of their States, from turning their Stocks in the Management of ſome very beneficial Trade by Servants, and Houſes maintain'd to that purpoſe. But the Generality of the States and Magiſtrates are of the other ſort; their Eſtates conſiſting in the Penſions of their Publick Charges, in the Rents of Lands, or Intereſt of Mony upon the *Cantores*, or in Actions of the *Eaſt-India* Company, or in Shares upon the Adventures of great Trading-Merchants.

Nor do theſe Families, habituated as it were to the Magiſtracy of their Towns and Provinces, uſually arrive at great or exceſſive Riches; the Salaries of Publick Employments and Intereſt being low, but the Revenue of Lands being yet very much lower, and ſeldom exceeding the Profit of Two in the Hundred. They content themſelves

ſelves with the Honour of being uſeful to the Publick, with the Eſteem of their Cities or their Country, and with the Eaſe of their Fortunes; which ſeldom fails, by the Frugality of their living, grown univerſal by being (I ſuppoſe) at firſt neceſſary, but ſince honourable, among them.

The mighty Growth and Exceſs of Riches is ſeen among the Merchants and Traders, whoſe Application lyes wholly that way, and who are the better content to have ſo little ſhare in the Government, deſiring only Security in what they poſſeſs; troubled with no Cares but thoſe of their Fortunes, and the Management of their Trades, and turning the reſt of their Time and Thought to the Divertiſement of their Lives. Yet theſe, when they attain great Wealth, chuſe to breed up their Sons in the Way, and marry their Daughters into the Families of thoſe others moſt generally credited in their Towns, and verſed in their Magiſtracies; and thereby introduce their Families into the way of Government and Honour, which conſiſts not here in Titles, but in Publick Employments.

The next Rank among them, is that of

of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who, in the Province of *Holland*, (to which I chiefly confine theſe Obſervations) are very few, moſt of the Families having been extinguiſhed in the long Wars with *Spain*. But thoſe that remain, are in a manner all employ'd in the Military or Civil Charges of the Province or State. Theſe are, in their Cuſtoms, and Manners, and way of living, a good deal different from the reſt of the People; and having been bred much abroad, rather affect the Garb of their Neighbour-Courts, than the Popular Air of their own Country. They value themſelves more upon their Nobility, than Men do in other Countries, where 'tis more common; and would think themſelves utterly diſhonoured by the Marriage of one that were not of their Rank, though it were to make up the broken Fortune of a Noble Family, by the Wealth of a *Plebean*. They ſtrive to imitate the *French*, in their Mien, their Cloaths, their way of Talk, of Eating, of Gallantry or Debauchery; and are, in my Mind, ſomething worſe than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making ſometimes but ill Copies,

whereas they might be good Originals, by refining or improving the Cuſtoms and Virtues proper to their own Country and Climate. They are otherwiſe an Honeſt, Well-natur'd, Friendly, and Gentlemanly ſort of Men, and acquit themſelves generally with Honour and Merit, where their Country employs them.

The Officers of their Armies live after the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of the Gentlemen; and ſo do many Sons of the rich Merchants, who, returning from Travel abroad, have more deſigns upon their own Pleaſure, and the Vanity of appearing, than upon the Service of their Country: Or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the Army than the State. And all theſe are generally deſirous to ſee a Court in their Country, that they may value themſelves at home, by the Qualities they have learnt abroad, and make a Figure, which agrees better with their own Humour, and the manner of Courts, than with the Cuſtoms and Orders, that prevail in more Popular Governments.

Theſe are ſome Cuſtoms, or Diſpoſitions, that ſeem to run generally through

through all theſe Degrees of Men among them; as great Frugality, and Order, in their Expences. Their common Riches lye in every Man's having more than he ſpends; or, to ſay it more properly, In every Man's ſpending leſs than he has coming in, be that what it will: Nor does it enter into Mens Heads among them, That the common port or courſe of Expence ſhould equal the Revenue; and when this happens, they think at leaſt they have liv'd that Year to no purpoſe; and the train of it diſcredits a Man among them, as much as any vitious or prodigal Extravagance does in other Countries. This enables every Man to bear their extream Taxes, and makes them leſs ſenſible than they would be in other Places: For he that lives upon Two Parts in Five of what he has coming in, if he pays Two more to the State, he does but part with what he ſhould have laid up, and had no preſent Uſe for; whereas, he that ſpends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the Fiftieth Part to the Publick, it goes from him like that which was neceſſary to buy Bread or Cloaths for himſelf or his Family.

This makes the Beauty and Strength of their Towns, the Commodiouſneſs of Travelling in their Country by their Canals, Bridges, and Cawſeys; the Pleaſantneſs of their Walks, and their Grafts in and near all their Cities: And in ſhort, the Beauty, Convenience, and ſometimes Magnificence, of their Publick Works, to which every Man pays as willingly, and takes as much Pleaſure and Vanity in them, as thoſe of other Countries do in the ſame Circumſtances, among the Poſſeſſions of their Families, or private Inheritance. What they can ſpare, beſides the neceſſary Expence of their Domeſtick, the Publick Payments, and the common courſe of ſtill encreaſing their Stock, is laid out in the Fabrick, Adornment, or Furniture of their Houſes: Things not ſo tranſitory, or ſo prejudicial to Health, and to Buſineſs, as the conſtant Exceſſes and Luxury of Tables; nor perhaps altogether ſo vain as the extravagant Expences of Cloaths and Attendance; at leaſt, theſe end wholly in a Man's ſelf, and the Satisfaction of his perſonal Humour; whereas the other make not only the Riches of a Family, but contribute

tribute much towards the publick Beauty and Honour of a Country.

The Order in caſting up their Expences, is ſo great and general, that no Man offers at any Undertaking, which he is not prepared for, and Maſter of his Deſign, before he begins; ſo as I have neither obſerved nor heard of any Building, publick or private, that has not been finiſhed in the time deſigned for it. So are their Canals, Cawſeys, and Bridges; ſo was their Way from the *Hague* to *Skeveling*, a Work that might have become the old *Romans*, conſidering how ſoon it was diſpatch'd. The Houſe at the *Hague*, built purpoſely for caſting of Cannon, was finiſh'd in one Summer, during the Heat of the firſt *Engliſh* War, and look'd rather like a Deſign of Vanity in their Government, than Neceſſity or Uſe. The Stadthouſe of *Amſterdam* has been left purpoſely to Time, without any Limitation in the firſt Deſign, either of that, or of Expence; both that the Diligence and the Genius of ſo many ſucceeding Magiſtrates ſhould be employ'd in the Collection of all things, that could be eſteem'd proper to encreaſe the Beauty or Magnificence of that

that Structure; and perhaps a little to reprieve the Experiment of a current Prediction, That the Trade of that City ſhould begin to fall the ſame Year the Stadthouſe ſhould be finiſh'd, as it did at *Antwerp*.

Charity ſeems to be very National among them, though it be regulated by Orders of the Country, and not uſually mov'd by the common Objects of Compaſſion. But it is ſeen in the admirable Proviſions that are made out of it for all ſort of Perſons that can want, or ought to be kept, in a Government. Among the many and various Hoſpitals, that are in every Man's Curioſity and Talk that travels their Country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged Sea-Men at *Enchuſyen*, which is contrived, finiſhed and ordered, as if it were done with a kind Intention of ſome well-natur'd Man, that thoſe, who had paſt their whole Lives in the Hardſhips and Incommodities of the Sea, ſhould find a Retreat ſtor'd with all the Eaſes and Conveniences, that Old Age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich Man, that I ever ſaw in my Life: For one of theſe old

Sea-Men

Sea-Men entertaining me a good while with the plain Stories of his Fifty Years Voyages and Adventures, while I was viewing their Hoſpital, and the Church adjoining; I gave him at parting a Piece of their Coin about the value of a Crown: He took it ſmiling, and offer'd it me again; but when I refus'd it, he askt me, What he ſhould do with Mony? for all that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their Houſe. I left him to overcome his Modeſty as he could; but a Servant coming after me, ſaw him give it to a little Girl that open'd the Church-door, as ſhe paſs'd by him: Which made me reflect upon the fantaſtick Calculation of Riches and Poverty that is current in the World, by which a Man that wants a Million, is a Prince; He that wants but a Groat, is a Beggar; and this was a poor Man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, All Appetites and Paſſions ſeem to run lower and cooler here, than in other Countries where I have convers'd. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that ſhall not be ſo violent, where it feeds only upon Induſtry and Parſimony, as where it breaks

breaks out into Fraud, Rapine, and Oppreſſion. But Quarrels are ſeldom ſeen among them, unleſs in their Drink, Revenge rarely heard of, or Jealouſie known. Their Tempers are not airy enough for Joy, or any unuſual Strains of pleaſant Humour; nor warm enough for Love. This is talkt of ſometimes among the younger Men, but as a thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a Diſcourſe that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known ſome among them, that perſonated Lovers well enough; but none that I ever thought were at heart in Love; nor any of the Women, that ſeem'd at all to care whether they were ſo or no. Whether it be, that they are ſuch Lovers of their Liberty, as not to bear the Servitude of a Miſtreſs, any more than that of a Maſter; or, that the Dulneſs of their Air renders them leſs ſuſceptible of more refined Paſſions; or, that they are diverted from it by the general Intention every Man has upon his Buſineſs, whatever it is (nothing being ſo mortal an Enemy of Love, that ſuffers no Rival, as any Bent of Thought another way.)

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The ſame Cauſes may have had the ſame Effects among their Married Women, who have the whole Care and abſolute Management of all their Domeſtick; and live with very general good Fame: A certain ſort of Chaſtity being hereditary and habitual among them, as Probity among the Men.

The ſame Dulneſs of Air may diſpoſe them to that ſtrange Aſſiduity and conſtant Application of their Minds, with that perpetual Study and Labour upon any thing they deſign and take in hand. This gives them Patience to purſue the Queſt of Riches by ſo long Voyages and Adventures to the *Indies*, and by ſo long Parſimony as that of their whole Lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular Example of this Diſpoſition among them) known one Man that was employ'd Four and Twenty Years about the making and perfecting of a Globe, and another above Thirty about the inlaying of a Table. Nor does any Man know, how much may have been contributed towards the great things in all kinds, both publick and private, that have been atchieved among them by this one Humour

mour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to paſs, nor leaving one Scent to follow another they meet with; which is the Property of the lighter and more ingenious Nations: And the Humour of a Government being uſually the ſame with that of the Perſons that compoſe it, not only in this, but in all other Points; ſo as, where Men that govern are Wiſe, Good, Steady and Juſt, the Government will appear ſo too; and the contrary, where they are otherwiſe.

The ſame Qualities in their Air may encline them to the Entertainments and Cuſtoms of Drinking, which are ſo much laid to their Charge, and, for ought I know, may not only be neceſſary to their Health, (as they generally believe it,) but to the Vigour and Improvement of their Underſtandings, in the midſt of a thick foggy Air, and ſo much Coldneſs of Temper and Complexion. For though the Uſe or Exceſs of Drinking may deſtroy Mens Abilities who live in better Climates, and are of warmer Conſtitutions; Wine to hot Brains being like Oyl to Fire, and making the Spirits, by too

too much Lightneſs, evaporate into Smoak, and perfect aiery Imaginations; or, by too much Heat, rage into Frenzy, or at leaſt into Humours and Thoughts, that have a great Mixture of it; yet on the other ſide, it may improve Mens Parts and Abilities of cold Complexions, and in dull Air; and may be neceſſary to thaw and move the frozen or unactive Spirits of the Brain; to rowze ſleepy Thought, and refine groſſer Imaginations, and perhaps to animate the Spirits of the Heart, as well as enliven thoſe of the Brain: Therefore the old *Germans* ſeem'd to have ſome Reaſon in their Cuſtom, not to execute any great Reſolutions which had not been twice debated, and agreed at two ſeveral Aſſemblies, one in an Afternoon, and t'other in a Morning; Becauſe, they thought, their Counſels might want Vigour when they were ſober, as well as Caution when they had drunk.

Yet in *Holland* I have obſerved very few of their chief Officers or Miniſters of State vitious in this kind; or if they drunk much, 'twas only at ſet Feaſts, and rather to acquit themſelves, than

than of Choice or Inclination: And for the Merchants and Traders, with whom it is cuſtomary, they never do it in a Morning, nor 'till they come from the Exchange, where the Buſineſs of the Day is commonly diſpatch'd; nay, it hardly enters into their Heads, that 'tis lawful to drink at all before that time; but they will excuſe it, if you come to their Houſe, and tell you how ſorry they are you come in a Morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that time of Day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themſelves, but ſo much as for a Stranger to do it within their Walls.

The Afternoon, or, at leaſt, the Evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, conſidering how they ſpend the reſt of the Day, in Thought, or in Cares; in Toils, or in Buſineſs. For Nature cannot hold out with conſtant Labour of Body, and as little with conſtant Bent, or Application, of Mind: Much Motion of the ſame Parts of the Brain either wearies and waſtes them too faſt for Repair, or elſe (as it were) fires the Wheels, and ſo ends, either in general Decays of the Body, or Diſtracti-

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ons of the Mind (For theſe are uſually occaſion'd by perpetual motions of Thought about ſome one Object; whether it be about ones ſelf in exceſſes of Pride, or about another in thoſe of Love, or of Grief.) Therefore none are ſo excuſable as Men of much Care and Thought, or of great Buſineſs, for giving up their times of leiſure to any Pleaſures or Diverſions that offend no Laws, nor hurt others or themſelves: And this ſeems the reaſon, that, in all Civil Conſtitutions, not only Honours, but Riches, are annexed to the Charges of thoſe who govern, and upon whom the Publick Cares are meant to be devolv'd; not only, that they may not be diſtracted from theſe, by the Cares of their own Domeſtick or Private Intereſts; but, that by the help of Eſteem, and of Riches, they may have thoſe Pleaſures and Diverſions in their reach, which idle Men neither need nor deſerve, but which are neceſſary for the Refreſhment, or Repair, of Spirits, exhauſted with Cares, and with Toil, and which ſerve to ſweeten and preſerve thoſe Lives that would otherwiſe wear out too faſt, or grow too uneaſie in the Service of the Publick.

The Two Characters that are left by the old *Roman* Writers, of the ancient *Batavi* or *Hollanders*, are, That they were both the braveſt among the *German* Nations, and the moſt obſtinate Lovers and Defenders of their Liberty; which made them exempted from all Tribute by the *Romans*, who deſir'd only Soldiers of their Nation, to make up ſome of their Auxiliary-Bands, as they did in former Ages of thoſe Nations in *Italy* that were their Friends, and Allies. The laſt Diſpoſition ſeems to have continu'd conſtant and National among them, ever ſince that time, and never to have more appear'd, than in the Riſe and Conſtitutions of their preſent State. It does not ſeem to be ſo of the Firſt, or that the People in general can be ſaid now to be Valiant; a Quality, of old, ſo National among them, and which, by the ſeveral Wars of the Counts of *Holland*, (eſpecially with the *Frizons*,) and by the deſperate Defences made againſt the *Spaniards*, by this People, in the beginnings of their State, ſhould

*Queruntur (Fabii Valentis) Legiones, orbari ſe fortiſſimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos & tot bellorum auctores non abrumpendos, ut corpori validiſſimos artus.* Tacit. Hiſt.

*Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi non multum ex ripa ſed Inſulam Rheni amnis colunt.* Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

ſhould ſeem to have laſted long, and to have but lately decay'd: That is, ſince the whole Application of their Natives has been turn'd to Commerce and Trade, and the Vein of their Domeſtick Lives ſo much to Parſimony, (by Circumſtances which will be the Subject of another Chapter;) and ſince the main of all their Forces, and Body of their Army has been compos'd, and continually ſupply'd out of their Neighbour-Nations.

For Soldiers and Merchants are not found, by Experience, to be more incompatible in their Abode, than the Diſpoſitions and Cuſtoms ſeem to be different, that render a People fit for Trade, and for War. The Soldier thinks of a ſhort Life, and a merry. The Trader thinks upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his Fortunes ſuddenly by his Courage, by Victory and Spoil: The t'other ſlower, but ſurer, by Craft, by Treaty, and by Induſtry. This makes the firſt franc and generous, and throw away, upon his Pleaſures, what has been gotten in one Danger, and may either be loſt, or repair'd, in the next. The other wary and frugal, and loath to

part with in a Day, what he has been labouring for a Year, and has no hopes to recover, but by the ſame Paces of Diligence and Time. One aims only to preſerve what he has, as the Fruit of his Father's Pains; or what he ſhall get, as the Fruit of his own: T'other thinks the price of a little Blood is more than of a great deal of Sweat; and means to live upon other Men's Labours, and poſſeſs in an Hour, what they have been Years in acquiring: This makes one love to live under ſtanch Orders and Laws; while t'other would have all depend upon Arbitrary Power and Will. The Trader reckons upon growing Richer, and by his account Better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his Health, and his Life, and ſo apt to be orderly and temperate in his Diet; while the Soldier is Thoughtleſs, or Prodigal of both; and having not his Meat ready at Hours, or when he has a Mind to it, eats full and greedily, whenever he gets it; and perhaps difference of Diet may make greater difference in Mens natural Courage, than is commonly thought of.

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For Courage may proceed, in ſome meaſure, from the temper of Air, may be form'd by Diſcipline, and acquir'd by Uſe, or infus'd by Opinion; but that which is more natural, and ſo more National in ſome Countries than in others, ſeems to ariſe from the Heat or Strength of Spirits about the Heart, which may a great deal depend upon the Meaſures and the Subſtance of the Food, Men are us'd to. This made a great Phyſician among us ſay, He would make any Man a Coward with Six Weeks Dieting; and Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* call for the *Engliſh* that were newly come over, and had (as he ſaid) their own Beef in their Bellies, for any bold and deſperate Action. This may be one reaſon, why the Gentry, in all Places of the World, are braver than the Peaſantry, whoſe Hearts are depreſſed, not only by Slavery, but by ſhort and heartleſs Food, the Effect of their Poverty. This is a Cauſe, why the Yeomanry and Commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other Countries, becauſe by the Plenty, and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, they are ſo much eaſier in their Rents and their Taxes, and fare ſo much

better and fuller, than thoſe, of their Rank, in any other Nation. Their chief, and, indeed, conſtant Food, being of Fleſh: And among all Creatures, both the Birds and the Beaſts, we ſhall ſtill find thoſe that feed upon Fleſh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon Graſs, and upon Plants. I think, there can be pretended but two Exceptions to this Rule, which are the Cock and the Horſe; whereas the Courage of the One, is noted no where but in *England*, and there, only in certain Races: And for the Other, all the Courage we commend in them, is, the want of Fear; and they are obſerv'd to grow much fiercer, whenever by Cuſtom, or Neceſſity, they have been us'd to Fleſh.

From all this may be inferr'd, That not only the long Diſuſe of Arms among the Native *Hollanders*, (eſpecially at Land,) and making uſe of other Nations, chiefly in their Milice: But the Arts of Trade, as well as Peace, and their great Parſimony in Diet, and eating ſo very little Fleſh, (which the common People ſeldom do above once a Week,) may have help'd to debaſe much

much the ancient Valour of the Nation, at leaſt, in the Occaſions of Service at Land. Their Seamen are much better; but not ſo good as thoſe of *Zealand*, who are generally brave; which, I ſuppoſe, comes by theſe having upon all occaſions turn'd ſo much more to Privateering, and Men of War; and thoſe of *Holland*, being generally employ'd in Trading and Merchant-Ships; while their Men of War are Mann'd by Mariners of all Nations, who are very numerous among them, but eſpecially, thoſe of the *Eaſtland* Coaſts of *Germany*, *Suedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*.

'Tis odd, that Veins of Courage ſhould ſeem to run like Veins of good Earth in a Country, and yet not only thoſe of the Province of *Hainault* among the *Spaniſh*, and of *Gelderland* among the *United Provinces*, are eſteem'd better Soldiers than the reſt; But the Burghers of *Valenciennes* among the Towns of *Flanders*, and of *Nimmeguen* among thoſe of the *Lower Gelder*, are obſerv'd to be particularly brave. But there may be Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Courage from Tradition, as well as of Belief: Nor methinks

ſhould any Man know how to be a Coward, that is brought up with the Opinion, That all his Nation or City have ever been Valiant.

I can ſay nothing of what is uſually laid to their Charge, about their being Cruel, beſides, what we have ſo often heard of their barbarous Uſage to ſome of our Men in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and what we have ſo lately ſeen of their Savage Murther of their *Penſioner de Wit*; a Perſon that deſerv'd another Fate, and a better return from his Country, after eighteen Years ſpent in their Miniſtry, without any Care of his Entertainments or Eaſe, and a little of his Fortune. A Man of unweary'd Induſtry, inflexible Conſtancy, ſound, clear, and deep Underſtanding, with untainted Integrity; ſo that whenever he was blinded, it was by the Paſſion he had for that which he eſteem'd the Good and Intereſt of his State. This Teſtimony is juſtly due to him from all that practis'd him; and is the more willingly paid, ſince there can be as little Intereſt to flatter, as Honour to reproach, the dead. But this Action of that People may be attributed to the Misfortune of their Country; and is ſo unlike

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the appearance of their Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions, living, as I ſaw them, under the Laws and Orders of a quiet and ſettled State, and one muſt confeſs Mankind to be a very various Creature, and none to be known, that has not been ſeen in his Rage, as well as his Drink.

They are generally not ſo long liv'd, as in better Airs; and begin to decay early, both Men and Women, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*: For, at the *Hague*, (which is their beſt Air) I have known two conſiderable Men, a good deal above Seventy, and one of them in very good Senſe and Health: But this is not ſo uſual as it is in *England*, and in *Spain*. The Diſeaſes of the Climate ſeem to be chiefly the Gout and the Scurvy; but all hot and dry Summers bring ſome that are infectious among them, eſpecially into *Amſterdam* and *Leyden*: Theſe are uſual Fevers, and lye moſt in the Head, and either kill ſuddenly, or languiſh long before they recover. Plagues are not ſo frequent, at leaſt not in a degree to be taken notice of, for all ſuppreſs the Talk of them as much as they can, and no Diſtinction is made in the Regiſtry of the dead, nor much

much in the Care and Attendance of the Sick: Whether from a belief of Predeſtination, or elſe, a Preference of Trade, which is the Life of the Country, before that of particular Men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the Spleen, but thoſe of the Country ſeldom or never: Which I take to proceed from their being ever buſie, or eaſily ſatisfy'd. For this ſeems to be the Diſeaſe of People that are idle, or think themſelves but ill entertain'd, and attribute every Fit of dull Humour, or Imagination, to a formal Diſeaſe, which they have found this Name for; whereas, ſuch Fits are incident to all Men, at one time or other, from the fumes of Indigeſtion, from the common Alterations of ſome inſenſible degrees in Health and Vigor; *or from ſome changes or approaches of change in Winds and Weather, which affect the finer Spirits of the Brain, before they grow ſenſible to other Parts; and are apt to alter

**Ubi tempeſtas & cœli mobilis Humor*
*Mutavere vias, & Jupiter humidus Auſtris,*
*Denſat, erant quæ rara modo, & quæ denſa relaxat*
*Vertuntur ſpecies animorum, & pectora motus*
*Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat*
*Concipiunt, hinc ille avium concentus in agris*
*Et lætæ pecudes, & ovantes gutture corvi.*
Virg. Georg.

ter the ſhapes, or colours, of whatever is repreſented to us by our Imaginations, whilſt we are ſo affected. Yet this Effect is not ſo ſtrong, but that buſineſs, or Intention of Thought, commonly either reſiſts, or diverts it: And thoſe who underſtand the motions of it, let it paſs, and return to themſelves. But ſuch as are idle, or know not from whence theſe Changes ariſe, and trouble their Heads with Notions, or Schemes of general Happineſs, or Unhappineſs, in Life, upon every ſuch Fit, begin Reflections on the Condition of their Bodies, their Souls, or their Fortunes; and (as all things are then repreſented in the worſt colours) they fall into melancholy apprehenſions of one or other, and ſometimes of them all: Theſe make deep Impreſſion in their Minds, and are not eaſily worn out by the natural Returns of good Humour, eſpecially, if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in ſome particular Conſtitutions, and more generally in uncertain Climates, eſpecially, if improv'd by Accidents of ill Health, or ill Fortune. But this is a Diſeaſe too refin'd for this Country and People, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleas'd, when

when they are not troubl'd; are content, becauſe they think little of it; and ſeek their Happineſs in the common Eaſe and Commodities of Life, or the encreaſe of Riches; not amuſing themſelves with the more ſpeculative Contrivance of Paſſion, or Refinements of Pleaſure.

To conclude this Chapter: *Holland* is a Country, where the Earth is better than the Air, and Profit more in requeſt than Honour; where there is more Senſe, than Wit; more good Nature, than good Humour; and more Wealth than Pleaſure: Where a Man would chuſe rather to Travel, than to Live; ſhall find more things to obſerve, than deſire; and more Perſons to eſteem, than to love. But the ſame Qualities and Diſpoſitions do not value a private Man and a State, nor make a Converſation agreeable, and a Government great: Nor is it unlikely, that ſome very great King might make but a very ordinary private Gentleman, and ſome very extraordinary Gentleman, might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of their* RELIGION.

I Intend not here to ſpeak of Religion at all as a Divine, but as a mere Secular Man, when I obſerve the occaſions that ſeem to have eſtabliſh'd it in the Forms, or with the Liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the *United Provinces*. I believe the Reform'd Religion was introduced there, as well as in *England*, and the many other Countries where it is profeſs'd, by the Operation of Divine Will and Providence; and by the ſame, I believe the *Roman Catholick* was continu'd in *France*: Where it ſeem'd, by the conſpiring of ſo many Accidents in the beginning of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign, to be ſo near a Change. And whoever doubts this, ſeems to queſtion not only the Will, but the Power, of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the Honour of a Religion, to have been planted in a Country, by Secular means,

means, or Civil Revolutions, which have, long ſince, ſucceeded to thoſe Miraculous Operations that made way for Chriſtianity in the World. 'Tis enough, that God Almighty infuſes Belief into the Hearts of Men, or elſe, ordains it to grow out of Religious Enquiries and Inſtructions; and that where-ever the generality of a Nation come by theſe means to be of a Belief, it is by the force of this concurrence introduc'd into the Government, and becomes the eſtabliſh'd Religion of that Country. So was the Reform'd Profeſſion introduc'd into *England*, *Scotland*, *Sueden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and many Parts of *Germany*. So was the *Roman-Catholick* reſtor'd in *France* and in *Flanders*; where, notwithſtanding the great Concuſſions that were made in the Government by the *Hugonots* and the *Gueuſes*, yet they were never eſteem'd, in either of thoſe Countries, to amount further than the Seventh or Eighth part of the People. And whoſoever deſigns the change of Religion in a Country, or Government, by any other means than that of a general Converſion of the People, or the greateſt part of them, deſigns all the

the Miſchiefs to a Nation, that uſe to uſher in, or attend, the two greateſt Diſtempers of a State, Civil War, or Tyranny; which are Violence, Oppreſſion, Cruelty, Rapine, Intemperance, Injuſtice, and, in ſhort, the miſerable Effuſion of Human Blood, and the Confuſion of all Laws, Orders, and Virtues, among Men.

Such Conſequences as theſe, I doubt, are ſomething more than the diſputed Opinions of any Man, or any particular Aſſembly of Men, can be worth; ſince the great and general End of all Religion, next to Mens Happineſs hereafter, is their Happineſs here; as appears by the Commandments of God, being the beſt and greateſt Moral and Civil, as well as Divine, Precepts, that have been given to a Nation; and by the Rewards propos'd to the Piety of the *Jews*, throughout the Old Teſtament, which were the Bleſſings of this Life, as Health, length of Age, number of Children, Plenty, Peace, or Victory.

Now the way to our future Happineſs, has been perpetually diſputed throughout the World, and muſt be left at laſt, to the Impreſſions made upon every

every Man's Belief, and Conſcience, either by natural, or ſupernatural, Arguments and Means; which Impreſſions Men may diſguiſe or diſſemble, but no Man can reſiſt. For Belief is no more in a Man's Power, than his Stature, or his Feature; and he that tells me, I muſt change my Opinion for his, becauſe 'tis the truer and the better, without other Arguments, that have to me the force of Conviction, may as well tell me, I muſt change my Grey Eyes, for others like his that are Black, becauſe theſe are lovelier, or more in eſteem. He that tells me, I muſt inform my Self, has reaſon, if I do it not: But if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps, more than he ever did, and yet ſtill differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me ſtudy on, and inform my ſelf better, and ſo to the end of my Life; then I eaſily underſtand what he means by informing, which is, in ſhort, that I muſt do it, 'till I come to be of his Opinion.

If he, that, perhaps, purſues his Pleaſures or Intereſts, as much, or more, than I do; and allows me to have as good Senſe, as he has in all other matters;

ters, tells me, I ſhould be of his Opinion, but that Paſſion or Intereſt blinds me; unleſs he can convince me how, or where, this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do my ſelf, who cannot imagine, why I ſhould not have as much Care of my Soul, as he has of His.

A Man that tells me, my Opinions are abſurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreaſonable, becauſe they differ from His, ſeems to intend a Quarrel inſtead of a Diſpute; and calls me Fool, or Mad-man, with a little more Circumſtance; though, perhaps, I paſs for one as well in my Senſes as he, as pertinent in Talk, and as prudent in Life: Yet theſe are the common Civilities, in Religious Argument, of ſufficient and conceited Men, who talk much of Right Reaſon, and mean always their own; and make their private Imagination the meaſure of general Truth. But ſuch Language determines all between us, and the Diſpute comes to end in three Words at laſt, which it might as well have ended in at firſt, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great End of Religion, which is our Happineſs here, has been generally agreed on by all Mankind, as appears in the Records of all their Laws, as well as all their Religions, which come to be eſtabliſh'd by the Concurrence of Mens Cuſtoms and Opinions; though in the latter, that Concurrence may have been produced by Divine Impreſſions or Inſpirations. For all agree in Teaching and Commanding, in Planting and Improving, not only thoſe Moral Virtues, which conduce to the felicity and tranquility of every private Man's Life; but alſo thoſe Manners and Diſpoſitions that tend to the Peace, Order, and Safety of all Civil Societies and Governments among Men. Nor could I ever underſtand, how thoſe, who call themſelves, and the World uſually calls, *Religious Men*, come to put ſo great weight upon thoſe Points of Belief which Men never have agreed in, and ſo little upon thoſe of Virtue and Morality, in which they have hardly ever diſagreed. Nor, why a State ſhould venture the Subverſion of their Peace, and their Order, which are certain Goods,

*Fiunt diverſæ reipublicæ ex civium moribus. qui, quocunque fluxerint, cæteros ſecum rapiunt.* Plat. de Rep.

Goods, and ſo univerſally eſteem'd, for the Propagation of uncertain or conteſted Opinions.

One of the great Cauſes of the firſt Revolt in the *Low-Countries*, appear'd to be, The Oppreſſion of Mens Conſciences, or Perſecution in their Liberties, their Eſtates and their Lives, upon Pretence of Religion. And this at a time, when there ſeem'd to be a conſpiring Diſpoſition in moſt Countries of Chriſtendom, to ſeek the Reformation of ſome Abuſes, grown in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, either by the Ruſt of Time, by Negligence, or by Human Inventions, Paſſions and Intereſts. The rigid Oppoſition given at *Rome* to this general Humour, was follow'd by a defection of mighty Numbers in all thoſe ſeveral Countries, who profeſſed to reform themſelves, according to ſuch Rules as they thought were neceſſary for the Reformation of the Church. Theſe Perſons, though they agreed in the main of diſowning the Papal Power, and reducing Belief from the Authority of Tradition to That of the Scripture; yet they differ'd much among themſelves in other Circumſtances, eſpecially of Diſcipline, according to the

Perſuaſions and Impreſſions of the Leading Doctors in their ſeveral Countries. So the Reformed of *France* became univerſally *Calviniſts*; but for thoſe of *Germany*, though they were generally *Lutherans*, yet there was a great mixture both of *Calviniſts* and *Anabaptiſts* among them.

The firſt Perſecutions of theſe Reformed aroſe in *Germany*, in the time of *Charles* the Fifth, and drove great Numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, eſpecially *Holland* and *Brabant*, where the Privileges of the Cities were greater, and the Emperor's Government was leſs ſevere, as among the Subjects of his own Native Countries. This was the occaſion, that in the Year 1566, when, upon the firſt Inſurrection in *Flanders*, thoſe of the Reformed Profeſſion began to form Conſiſtories, and levy Contributions among themſelves, for Support of their Common Cauſe; it was reſolved, upon Conſultation, among the Heads of them, that for declining all Differences among themſelves, at a time of common Exigence, The publick Profeſſion of their Party ſhould be That of the *Lutherans*, though with Liberty and Indulgence to

thoſe of different Opinions. By the Union of *Utrecht*, concluded in 1579, Each of the Provinces was left to order the matter of Religion, as they thought fit and moſt conducing to the welfare of their Province; with this Proviſion, that every Man ſhould remain free in his Religion, and none be examined or entrapped for that cauſe, according to the Pacification at *Gant*. But in the Year 1583, it was enacted by general Agreement, That the Evangelical Religion ſhould be only profeſſed in all the Seven Provinces: Which came thereby to be the Eſtabliſht Religion of this State.

The Reaſons, which ſeem'd to induce them to this Settlement, were many, and of weight: As firſt, becauſe by the Perſecutions arriv'd in *France*, (where all the Reformed were *Calviniſts*) multitudes of People had retired out of that Kingdom into the *Low-Countries*: And by the great Commerce and continual Intercourſe with *England*, where the Reformation agreed much with the *Calviniſts* in point of Doctrine, though more with the *Lutherans* in point of Diſcipline, Thoſe Opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any

other, among the People of theſe Provinces, ſo as the Numbers were grown to be greater far in the Cities of This than of any other Profeſſion. Secondly, the Succours and Supplies both of Men and Mony, by which the weak Beginnings of this Commonwealth were preſerved and fortify'd, came chiefly from *England*, from the Proteſtants of *France*, (when their Affairs were ſucceſsful) and from the *Calviniſt* Princes of *Germany*, who lay neareſt, and were readieſt to relieve them. In the next place, becauſe thoſe of this Profeſſion ſeem'd the moſt contrary and violent againſt the *Spaniards*, who made themſelves Heads of the *Roman Catholicks* thoughout Chriſtendom, and the Hatred of *Spain*, and their Dominion, was ſo rooted in the Hearts of this People, that it had Influence upon them in the very Choice of their Religion. And laſtly, becauſe, by this Profeſſion, all Rights and Juriſdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being ſuppreſſed, there was no Eccleſiaſtical Authority left to riſe up and trouble or fetter the Civil Power; and all the Goods and Poſſeſſions of Churches and Abbies were ſeized wholly into the hands of the State, which

which made a great Encreaſe of the publick Revenue, a thing the moſt neceſſary for the Support of their Government.

There might perhaps be added one Reaſon more, which was particular to One of the Provinces: For, whereas in moſt, if not all, other parts of Chriſtendom, the Clergy compoſed one of the Three Eſtates of the Country, and thereby ſhar'd with the Nobles and Commons in their Influences upon the Government, that Order never made any part of the Eſtates in *Holland*, nor had any Vote in their Aſſembly, which conſiſted only of the Nobles and the Cities; and this Province bearing always the greateſt ſway in the Councils of the Union, was moſt enclined to the Settlement of that Profeſſion which gave leaſt Pretence of Power or Juriſdiction to the Clergy, and ſo agreed moſt with their own ancient Conſtitutions.

Since this Eſtabliſhment, as well as before, the great care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious Inquiſition into the Faith or Religious Principles of any peaceable Man, who came to live under the Protection of their Laws, and to ſuffer

no Violence or Oppreſſion upon any Man's Conſcience, whoſe Opinions broke not out into Expreſſions or Actions of ill Conſequence to the State. A free Form of Government either making way for more Freedom in Religion; or elſe, having newly contended ſo far themſelves for Liberty in this Point, they thought it the more unreaſonable for them to oppreſs others. Perhaps while they were ſo threaten'd and endanger'd by Foreign Armies, they though it the more neceſſary to provide againſt Diſcontents within, which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fathered upon Oppreſſion in point either of Religion or Liberty. But in thoſe two Cates, the Flame often proves moſt violent in a State, the more 'tis ſhut up, or the longer concealed.

The *Roman Catholick* Religion was alone excepted from the common Protection of their Laws, making Men (as the States believed) worſe Subjects than the reſt; by the acknowledgment of a Foreign and Superior Juriſdiction; for ſo muſt all Spiritual Power needs be, as grounded upon greater Hopes and Fears than any Civil,

vil, at leaſt, where ever the Perſuaſions from Faith are as ſtrong as thoſe from Senſe; of which there are ſo many Teſtimonies recorded by the Martyrdoms, Penances, or Conſcientious Reſtraints and Severities, ſuffer'd by infinite Perſons in all ſorts of Religions.

Beſides, this Profeſſion ſeemed ſtill a Retainer of the *Spaniſh* Government, which was then the great Patron of it in the World: Yet, ſuch was the Care of this State to give all Men Eaſe in this Point, who ask no more than to ſerve God, and ſave their own Souls, in their own Way and Forms; that what was not provided for by the Conſtitutions of their Government, was ſo, in a very great degree, by the Connivance of their Officers, who, upon certain conſtant Payments from every Family, ſuffer the Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, as free and eaſie, though not ſo cheap, and ſo avowed, as the reſt. This, I ſuppoſe, has been the reaſon, that though thoſe of this Profeſſion are very numerous in the Country, among the Peaſants, and conſiderable in the Cities; and not admitted to any Publick Charges; yet they

they ſeem to be a ſound Piece of the State, and faſt jointed in with the reſt; and have neither given any Diſturbance to the Government, nor expreſt any Inclinations to a Change, or to any Foreign Power, either upon the former Wars with *Spain*, or the later Invaſions of the Biſhop of *Munſter*.

Of all other Religions, every Man enjoys the free Exerciſe in his own Chamber, or his own Houſe, unqueſtioned and uneſpy'd: And if the Followers of any Sect grow ſo numerous in any Place, that they affect a Publick Congregation, and are content to purchaſe a Place of Aſſembly, to bear the Charge of a Paſtor or Teacher, and to pay for this Liberty to the Publick; they go and propoſe their Deſire to the Magiſtrates of the Place where they reſide, who inform themſelves of their Opinions, and Manners of Worſhip; and if they find nothing in either, deſtructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Conſtitutions of their State, and content themſelves with the Price that is offer'd for the Purchaſe of this Liberty, They eaſily allow it; But with the condition, That one or more Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, who ſhall have free Admiſſion

Admiſſion at all their Meetings, ſhall be both the Obſervers and Witneſſes of all that is Acted or Preached among them, and whoſe Teſtimony ſhall be received concerning any thing that paſſes there to the Prejudice of the State: In which caſe, the Laws and Executions are as ſevere as againſt any Civil Crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam:* And in the firſt, almoſt all Sects, that are known among Chriſtians, have their publick Meeting-places; and ſome whoſe Names are almoſt worn out in all other Parts, as the *Browniſts*, *Familiſts*, and others: The *Arminians*, though they make a great Name among them, by being rather the Diſtinction of a Party in the State, than a Sect in the Church; yet are, in compariſon of others, but few in number, though conſiderable by the Perſons, who are of the better Quality, the more learned and intelligent Men, and many of them in the Government. The *Anabaptiſts* are juſt the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower Ranks of People, Mechanicks and Sea-men, and abound chiefly in *North-Holland*.

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The *Calviniſts* make the Body of the People, and are poſſeſſed of all the publick Churches in the Dominions of the State, as well as of the only Miniſters or Paſtors, who are maintained by the Publick; But theſe have neither Lands, nor Tithes, nor any authoriz'd Contributions from the People, but certain Salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: And though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publickly againſt the Vices, and ſometimes the innocent Entertainments, of Perſons moſt conſiderable in the Government, as well as of the Vulgar; yet they are never heard to cenſure or control the publick Actions or Reſolutions of the State: They are, in general, throughout the Country, paſſionate Friends to the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Orange*; and, during the Intermiſſion of that Authority, found ways of expreſſing their Affections to the Perſon and Fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State, as it was then conſtituted. They are fierce Enemies of the *Arminian* Party, whoſe Principles were thought to lead them, in *Barnevelt*'s time, towards a Conjunction, or at leaſt

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Compliance, with the *Spaniſh* Religion and Government, both which, the Houſe of *Orange*, in the whole courſe of the War, endeavour'd to make irreconcileable with thoſe of the State.

It is hardly to be imagin'd, how all the Violence and Sharpneſs, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, ſeems to be appeaſed or ſoftned here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance; nor, how Faction and Ambition are thereby diſabled to colour their Intereſſed and Seditious Deſigns with the Pretences of Religion, which has coſt the Chriſtian World ſo much Blood for theſe laſt Hundred and Fifty Years. No Man can here complain of Preſſure in his Conſcience; Of being forced to any publick Profeſſion of his private Faith; Of being reſtrain'd from his own manner of Worſhip in his Houſe, or obliged to any other abroad: And whoever asks more in point of Religion, without the undiſputed Evidence of a particular Miſſion from Heaven, may be juſtly ſuſpected, not to ask for God's ſake, but for his own; ſince pretending to Sovereignty, inſtead of

Liberty,

Liberty, in Opinion, is indeed pretending the ſame in Authority too, which conſiſts chiefly in Opinion: And what Man, or Party ſoever, can gain the common and firm Belief, of being moſt immediately inſpired, inſtructed, or favoured of God, will eaſily obtain the Prerogative of being moſt honour'd and obey'd by Men.

But in this Commonwealth, no Man having any reaſon to complain of oppreſſion in Conſcience; and no Man having Hopes, by advancing his Religion, to form a Party, or break in upon the State, the Differences in Opinion make none in Affections, and little in Converſation, where it ſerves but for Entertainment and Variety. They argue without Intereſt or Anger; they differ without Enmity or Scorn; and they agree without Confederacy. Men live together, like Citizens of the World, aſſociated by the common Ties of Humanity, and by the Bonds of Peace, under the impartial Protection of indifferent Laws, with equal Encouragement of all Art and Induſtry, and equal Freedom of Speculation and Enquiry; all Men enjoying their imaginary Excellencies and Acquiſitions of Know-

Knowledge, with as much Safety as their more real Poſſeſſions and Improvements of Fortune. The Power of Religion among them, where it is, lies in every Man's Heart. The Appearance of it is but like a piece of Humanity, by which every one falls moſt into the Company or Converſation of thoſe, whoſe Cuſtoms and Humours, whoſe Talk and Diſpoſitions he likes beſt: And as in other Places, 'tis in every Man's choice with whom he will eat or lodge, with whom go to Market, or to Court; So it ſeems to be here, with whom he will Pray, or go to Church, or Aſſociate in the Service and Worſhip of God: Nor is any more Notice taken, or more Cenſure paſs'd, of what every one chuſes in theſe Caſes, than in the other.

I believe the Force of Commerce, Alliances, and Acquaintances, ſpreading ſo far as they do in ſmall Circuits, (ſuch as the Province of *Holland*) may contribute much to make Converſation, and all the Offices of common Life, ſo eaſie, among ſo different Opinions, of which ſo many ſeveral Perſons are often in every Man's Eye; and no Man checks or takes Offence at Faces, or Cuſtoms,

Cuſtoms, or Ceremonies, he ſees every day, as at thoſe he hears of in Places far diſtant, and perhaps by partial Relations, and comes to ſee late in his Life, and after he has long been poſſeſs'd by Paſſion or Prejudice againſt them. However it is, Religion may poſſibly do more good in other Places, but it does leſs hurt here: And wherever the inviſible Effects of it are the greateſt and moſt advantagious, I am ſure the viſible are ſo in this Country, by the continual and undiſturbed Civil Peace of their Government for ſo long a courſe of Years; and by ſo mighty an Encreaſe of their People, wherein will appear to conſiſt chiefly the vaſt Growth of their Trade and Riches, and conſequently the Strength and Greatneſs of their State.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of their* TRADE.

'TIS evident to thoſe, who have read the moſt, and travell'd fartheſt, that no Country can be found either in this preſent Age, or upon Record of any Story, where ſo vaſt a Trade has been manag'd, as in the narrow compaſs of the Four Maritime Provinces of this Commonwealth: Nay, it is generally eſteem'd, that they have more Shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the reſt of *Europe*. Yet they have no Native Commodities towards the Building, or Rigging of the ſmalleſt Veſſel; their Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Wood, and Iron, coming all from abroad, as Wool does for cloathing their Men, and Corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own growth, that is conſiderable either for their own neceſſary uſe, or for Traffick with their Neighbours, beſides Butter, Cheeſe, and Earthen-

Wares. For Havens, they have not any good upon their whole Coaſt: The beſt are *Helverſluys*, which has no Trade at all; and *Fluſſingue*, which has little, in compariſon of other Towns in *Holland*: But *Amſterdam*, that triumphs in the Spoils of *Lisbon* and *Antwerp*, (which before engroſs'd the greateſt Trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*,) ſeems to be the moſt incommodious Haven they have, being ſeated upon ſo ſhallow Waters, that ordinary Ships cannot come up to it without the Advantage of Tides; nor great ones without unlading. The Entrance of the *Teſſel*, and Paſſage over the *Zudder-Sea*, is more dangerous than a Voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow Channels; ſo that it eaſily appears, that 'tis not an Haven that draws Trade, but Trade that fills an Haven, and brings it in vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any Native Commodities, but by force of Induſtry; by Improvement and Manufacture of all Foreign Growths; by being the general Magazine of *Europe*, and furniſhing all Parts with whatever the Market wants or invites; and by their Sea-men, being, as they have properly been

been call'd, the common Carriers of the World.

Since the Ground of Trade cannot be deduc'd from Havens, or Native Commodities, (as may well be concluded from the ſurvey of *Holland*, which has the leaſt and the worſt; and of *Ireland*, which has the moſt and the beſt, of both;) it were not amiſs to conſider, from what other ſource it may be more naturally and certainly deriv'd: For if we talk of Induſtry, we are ſtill as much to ſeek, what it is that makes People induſtrious in one Country, and idle in another. I conceive the true Original and Ground of Trade, to be, great multitude of People crowded into ſmall compaſs of Land, whereby all things neceſſary to Life become dear, and all Men, who have Poſſeſſions, are induc'd to Parſimony; but thoſe who have none, are forc'd to Induſtry and Labour, or elſe to Want. Bodies that are vigorous, fall to Labour; ſuch as are not, ſupply that Defect by ſome ſort of Inventions or Ingenuity. Theſe Cuſtoms ariſe firſt from Neceſſity, but encreaſe by Imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a Country; and where-ever they are

ſo, if it lyes upon the Sea, they naturally break out into Trade, both becauſe, whatever they want of their own, that is neceſſary to ſo many Mens Lives, muſt be ſupply'd from abroad; and becauſe, by the multitude of People, and ſmalneſs of Country, Land grows ſo dear, that the Improvement of Mony, that way, is inconſiderable, and ſo turns to Sea, where the greatneſs of the Profit makes amends for the Venture.

This cannot be better illuſtrated, than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in *Ireland*; where, by the largeneſs and plenty of the Food, and ſcarcity of People, all things neceſſary to Life are ſo cheap, that an induſtrious Man, by Two Days Labour, may gain enough to feed him the reſt of the Week; which I take to be a very plain Ground of the Lazineſs attributed to the People: For Men naturally prefer Eaſe before Labour, and will not take pains, if they can live idle; though, when, by neceſſity, they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a cuſtom neceſſary to their Health, and to their very Entertainment: Nor perhaps is the change harder, from conſtant Eaſe to La-

Labour, than from conſtant Labour to Eaſe.

This Account of the Original of Trade, agrees with the Experience of all Ages, and with the Conſtitutions of all Places, where it has moſt flouriſh'd in the World, as *Tyre*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, *Syracuſe*, *Agrigentum*, *Rhodes*, *Venice*, *Holland*; and will be ſo obvious to every Man, that knows and conſiders the Situation, the Extent, and the Nature, of all thoſe Countries, that it will need no Enlargement upon the Compariſons.

By theſe Examples, which are all of Commonwealths, and, by the Decay, or Diſſolution, of Trade, in the Six Firſt, when they came to be conquer'd, or ſubjected to Arbitrary Dominions, it might be concluded, that there is ſomething, in that form of Government, proper and natural to Trade, in a more peculiar manner. But the height it arriv'd to at *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, under their Princes, for Four or Five Deſcents of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and Two of *Auſtria*, ſhews, it may thrive under good Princes and Legal Monarchies, as well as under Free States. Under Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, it muſt

of neceſſity decay and diſſolve, becauſe this empties a Country of People, whereas the others fill it; this extinguiſhes Induſtry, whilſt Men are in doubt of enjoying themſelves what they get, or leaving it to their Children; the others encourage it, by ſecuring Men of both: One fills a Country with Soldiers, and the other with Merchants; who were never yet known to live well together, becauſe they cannot truſt one another: And as Trade cannot live without mutual truſt among private Men; ſo it cannot grow or thrive, to any great degree, without a Confidence both of publick and private Safety, and conſequently a Truſt in the Government, from an Opinion of its Strength, Wiſdom, and Juſtice; which muſt be grounded either upon the Perſonal Virtues and Qualities of a Prince, or elſe upon the Conſtitutions and Orders of a State.

It appears to every Man's Eye who hath travell'd *Holland*, and obſerv'd the numbers and vicinity of their great and populous Towns and Villages, with the prodigious Improvement of almoſt every ſpot of Ground in the Country, and the great Multitudes con-

conſtantly employ'd in their Shipping abroad, and their Boats at home, That no other known Country in the World, of the ſame extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of People; and if that be the great Foundation of Trade, the beſt account that can be given of theirs, will be by conſidering the Cauſes and Accidents, that have ſerv'd to force or invite ſo vaſt a confluence of People into their Country. In the firſt rank may be placed, the Civil Wars, Calamities, Perſecutions, Oppreſſions, or Diſcontents, that have been ſo fatal to moſt of their Neighbours, for ſome time before as well as ſince their State began.

The Perſecutions for matter of Religion, in *Germany* under *Charles* the Fifth, in *France* under *Henry* the Second, and in *England* under Queen *Mary*, forc'd great numbers of People out of all thoſe Countries, to ſhelter themſelves in the ſeveral Towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where the ancient Liberties of the Country, and Priviledges of the Cities, had been inviolate under ſo long a Succeſſion of Princes, and gave Protection to theſe op-

preſſed Strangers, who fill'd their Cities both with People and Trade, and rais'd *Antwerp* to ſuch an height and renown, as continu'd 'till the Duke of *Alva*'s Arrival in the *Low-Countries*. The Fright of this Man, and the Orders he brought, and Arms to execute them, began to ſcatter the Flock of People that for ſome time had been neſted there; ſo as, in very few Months, above a Hundred Thouſand Families remov'd out of the Country. But when the Seven Provinces United, and began to defend themſelves with Succeſs, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Countenance of *England* and *France*, and the Perſecutions for Religion began to grow ſharp in the *Spaniſh* Provinces, all the Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, and Haters of the *Spaniſh* Dominion, retir'd into the ſtrong Cities of this Commonwealth, and gave the ſame Date to the growth of Trade there, and the Decay of it at *Antwerp*.

The long Civil Wars, at firſt of *France*, then of *Germany*, and laſtly of *England*, ſerved to encreaſe the ſwarm in this Country, not only by ſuch as were perſecuted at home, but great numbers

numbers of peaceable Men, who came here to ſeek for Quiet in their Lives, and Safety in their Poſſeſſions or Trades; like thoſe Birds that upon the approach of a rough Winter-ſeaſon, leave the Countries where they were born and bred, fly away to ſome kinder and ſofter Climate, and never return 'till the Froſts are paſt, and the Winds are laid at home.

The Invitation theſe People had, to fix rather in *Holland* than in many better Countries, ſeems to have been, at firſt, the great Strength of their Towns, which by their Maritime Situation, and the low Flatneſs of their Country, can with their Sluces overflow all the Ground about them at ſuch diſtances, as to become inacceſſible to any Land-Forces. And this natural Strength has been improv'd, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, by all the Art and Expence that could any ways contribute towards the Defence of the Place.

Next, was the Conſtitution of their Government, by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have any Power to invade any Man's Perſon or Property within the Precincts of their Cities. Nor could it be fear'd that the Senate

Senate of any Town ſhould conſpire to any ſuch violence; nor if they did, could they poſſibly execute it, having no Soldiers in their Pay, and the Burghers only being employ'd in the Defence of their Towns, and Execution of all Civil Juſtice among them.

Theſe Circumſtances gave ſo great a Credit to the Bank of *Amſterdam*; and that was another Invitation for People to come, and lodge here what part of their Mony they could tranſport, and knew no way of ſecuring at home. Nor did thoſe People only lodge Monies here, who came over into the Country; but many more, who never left their own: Though they provided for a Retreat, or againſt a Storm, and thought no place ſo ſecure as this, nor from whence they might ſo eaſily draw their Mony into any Parts of the World.

Another Circumſtance, was, the general Liberty and Eaſe, not only in point of Conſcience, but all others that ſerve to the Commodiouſneſs and Quiet of Life; every Man following his own Way, minding his own Buſineſs, and little enquiring into other Mens; which, I ſuppoſe, happen'd by

ſo

ſo great a Concourſe of People of ſeveral Nations, different Religions and Cuſtoms, as left nothing ſtrange or new; and by the general Humour, bent all upon Induſtry, whereas Curioſity is only proper to idle Men.

Beſides, it has ever been the great Principle of their State, running through all their Provinces and Cities, even with Emulation, to make their Country the common Refuge of all miſerable Men; from whoſe Protection, hardly any Alliance, Treaties, or Intereſts, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as, during the great Dependance this Sate had upon *France*, in the time of *Henry* the Fourth, all the Perſons diſgraced at that Court or baniſh'd that Country, made this their common Retreat; nor could the State ever be prevail'd with, by any Inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſadors, to refuſe them the uſe and liberty of common Life and Air, under the Protection of their Government.

This firmneſs in the State, has been one of the Circumſtances, that has invited ſo many unhappy Men out of all their Neighbourhood, and indeed from moſt parts of *Europe*, to ſhelter themſelves

ſelves from the Blows of Juſtice, or of Fortune. Nor indeed does any Country ſeem ſo proper to be made uſe of upon ſuch Occaſions, not only in reſpect of Safety, but as a Place that holds ſo conſtant and eaſie Correſpondencies with all Parts of the World, and whither any Man may draw whatever Mony he has at his Diſpoſal in any other Place; where neither Riches expoſe Men to Danger, nor Poverty to Contempt: But on the contrary, where Parſimony is honourable, whether it be neceſſary or no; and he that is forced by his Fortune to live low, may here alone live in Faſhion, and upon equal Terms (in appearance abroad) with the chiefeſt of their Miniſters, and richeſt of their Merchants: Nor is it eaſily imagin'd, how great an Effect this Conſtitution among them, may, in courſe of time, have had upon the encreaſe both of their People and their Trade.

As the two firſt Invitations of People into this Country, were the Strength of their Towns, and Nature of their Government; ſo, two others have grown with the courſe of Time, and progreſs of their Riches and Power. One is the Reputation of their Govern-

Government, ariſing from the Obſervation of the Succeſs of their Arms, the Prudence of their Negotiations, the Steadineſs of their Counſels, the Conſtancy of their Peace and Quiet at home, and the Conſideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Chriſtendom. From all theſe, Men grew to a general Opinion of the Wiſdom and Conduct of their State, and of its being eſtabliſh'd upon Foundations, that could not be ſhaken by any common Accidents, nor conſequently in danger of any great or ſudden Revolutions; and this is a mighty Inducement to induſtrious People to come and inhabit a Country, who ſeek not only ſafety under Laws from Juſtice and Oppreſſion, but likewiſe under the Strength and good Conduct of a State, from the Violence of Foreign Invaſions, or of Civil Commotions.

The other, is, the great Beauty of their Country (forced in time, and by the Improvements of Induſtry, in ſpight of Nature,) which draws every Day ſuch Numbers of curious and idle Perſons to ſee their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their Country is a much better Miſtreſs

than

than a Wife; and where few Perſons who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none that have Time and Mony to ſpare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as *England* ſhews, in the beauty of the Country, what Nature can arrive at; ſo does *Holland*, in the number, greatneſs, and beauty of their Towns, whatever Art can bring to paſs. But theſe and many other matters of Speculation among them, filling the Obſervations of all common Travellers, ſhall make no part of mine, whoſe deſign is rather to diſcover the Cauſes of their Trade and Riches, than to relate the Effects.

Yet it may be noted here, as a piece of Wiſdom in any Kingdom or State, by the Magnificence of Courts, or of Publick Structures; by encouraging Beauty in Private Buildings, and the Adornment of Towns with pleaſant and regular Plantations of Trees; by the Celebration of ſome Noble Feſtivals or Solemnities; by the Inſtitution of ſome great Marts or Fairs; and by the Contrivance of any extraordinary and renown'd Spectacles, to invite and occaſion, as much and as often as can be, the concourſe of buſie

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or idle People from the neighbouring or remoter Nations, whoſe very Paſſage and Intercourſe is a great encreaſe of Wealth and of Trade, and a ſecret Incentive of People to inhabit a Country, where Men may meet with equal Advantages, and more Entertainments of Life, than in other places. Such were the *Olympick* and other Games among the *Græcians*; ſuch the Triumphs, Trophies, and Secular Plays of old *Rome*, as well as the Spectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with ſuch ſtupendious Effects of Art and Expence, for courting or entertaining the People; ſuch the Jubilees of New *Rome*; the Juſts and Tournaments formerly uſed in moſt of the Courts of Chriſtendom; the Feſtivals of the more celebrated Orders of Knighthood; and in particular Towns, the Carnavals and Fairs; the Kirmiſhes, which run through all the Cities of the *Netherlands*, and in ſome of them, with a great deal of Pageantry, as well as Traffick, being equall Baits of Pleaſure and of Gain.

Having thus diſcover'd, what has laid the great Foundations of their Trade, by the multitude of the People, which

which has planted and habituated Industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of Manufacture; as well as Parsimony, and thereby general Wealth: I shall enumerate very briefly, some other Circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief Advancers and Encouragers of Trade in their Country.

Low Interest, and dearness of Land, are Effects of the Multitude of People, and cause of so much Mony to lye ready for all Projects, by which gain may be expected, as the cutting of Canals, making Bridges and Cawsies, levelling Downs, and draining Marshes, besides all new Essays at Foreign Trade, which are propos'd with any probability of Advantage.

The use of their Banks, which secures Mony, and makes all Payments easie, and Trade quick.

The Sale by Registry, which was introduced here and in *Flanders* in the time of *Charles* the Fifth, and makes all Purchases safe.

The Severity of Justice, not only against all Thefts, but all Cheats, and Counterfeits of any Publick Bills, (which is capital among them,) and even

even againſt all common Beggars, who are diſpos'd of either into Work-houſes, or Hoſpitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The Convoys of Merchant-Fleets into all parts, even in time of Peace, but eſpecially into the *Streights*; which give their Trade Security againſt many unexpected Accidents, and their Nation Credit abroad, and breeds up Seamen for their Ships of War.

The Lowneſs of their Cuſtoms, and Eaſineſs of paying them, which, with the Freedom of their Ports, invite both Strangers and Natives to bring Commodities hither, not only as to a Market, but as to a Magazine, where they lodge 'till they are invited abroad to other and better Markets.

Order and Exactneſs in managing their Trade, which brings their Commodities in Credit abroad. This was firſt introduc'd by ſevere Laws and Penalties, but is ſince grown into Cuſtom. Thus there have been above Thirty ſeveral Placarts about the manner of curing, pickling, and barrelling Herrings. Thus all Arms made at *Utrecht*, are forfeited, if ſold without Mark, or marked without Trial. And I

obſerved in their *Indian*-Houſe, that all the Pieces of Scarlet, which are ſent in great quantities to thoſe Parts, are marked with the *Engliſh* Arms, and Inſcriptions in *Engliſh*; by which they maintain the Credit gain'd to that Commodity, by our former Trade to Parts, where 'tis now loſt or decay'd.

The Government manag'd either by Men that trade, or whoſe Families have riſen by it, or who have themſelves ſome Intereſt going in other Mens Traffick, or who are born and bred in Towns, the Soul and Being whereof conſiſts wholly in Trade, which makes ſure of all favour, that, from time to time, grows neceſſary, and can be given it by the Government.

The Cuſtom of every Town's affecting ſome particular Commerce or Staple, valuing it ſelf thereupon, and ſo improving it to the greateſt height; as *Fluſſingue*, by that of the *Weſt-Indies*; *Middleburgh*, of *French* Wines; *Terveer*, by the *Scotch* Staple; *Dort*, by the *Engliſh* Staple and *Rheniſh* Wines; *Rotterdam*, by the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Trade at large, and by *French* Wines; *Leyden*, by the Manufacture of all ſorts of Stuffs, Silk, Hair, Gold and Silver;

*Haer-*

*Haerlem*, by Linnen, Mixt-Stuffs, and Flowers; *Delf*, by Beer and *Dutch*-Purcelane; *Surdam*, by the Built of Ships; *Enchuſſen* and *Mazlandſluys*, by Herring-Fiſhing; *Friezland*, by the *Greenland* Trade; and *Amſterdam*, by that of the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*.

The great Application of the whole Province to the Fiſhing-Trade, upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, which employs an incredible number of Ships and Sea-men, and ſupplies moſt of the Southern Parts of *Europe* with a rich and neceſſary Commodity.

The laſt, I ſhall mention, is, the mighty Advance they have made towards engroſſing the whole Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, by their Succeſſes againſt the *Portugueſes*, and by their many Wars and Victories againſt the Natives, whereby they have forced them to Treaties of Commerce, excluſive to all other Nations, and to the Admiſſion of Forts to be built upon Streights and Paſſes, that command the Entrances into the Traffick of ſuch Places. This has been atchieved by the multitude of their People and Mariners, that has been able to furniſh

every Year ſo many great Ships for ſuch Voyages, and to ſupply the loſs of ſo many Lives, as the Changes of Climate have coſt, before they learnt the method of living in them: By the vaſtneſs of the Stock that has been turn'd wholly to that Trade; and by the conduct and application of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who have managed it like a Common-wealth, rather than a Trade, and thereby rais'd a State in the *Indies*, govern'd indeed by the Orders of the Company, but otherwiſe appearing to thoſe Nations like a Sovereign State, making War and Peace with their greateſt Kings, and able to bring to Sea Forty or Fifty Men of War, and Thirty Thouſand Men at Land, by the modeſteſt Computations. The Stock of this Trade, beſides what it turns to in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Streights*, and *Germany*, makes them ſo great Maſters in the Trade of the Northern Parts of *Europe*, as *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Pomerania*, and all the *Baltick*; where the Spices, that are an *Indian* Drug, and *European* Luxury, command all the Commodities of thoſe Countries, which are ſo neceſſary to Life, as their Corn; and to Navigation, as Hemp,

Hemp, Pitch, Maſts, Planks, and Iron.

Thus the Trade of this Country is diſcover'd to be no Effect of common Contrivances, of natural Diſpoſitions or Situation, or of trivial Accidents; but of a great Concurrence of Circumſtances, a long courſe of Time, force of Orders and Method, which never before met in the World to ſuch a degree, or with ſo prodigious a Succeſs, and perhaps never will again. Having grown, (to ſum up all) from the Situation of their Country, extended upon the Sea, divided by Two ſuch Rivers as the *Rhine* and the *Moſe*, with the Vicinity of the *Ems*, *Weſer*, and *Elve*; From the Confluence of People out of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, invited by the Strength of their Towns, and by the Conſtitutions and Credit of their Government; By the Liberty of Conſcience, and Security of Life and Goods, (ſubjected only to conſtant Laws;) From general Induſtry and Parſimony, occaſion'd by the Multitude of People, and Smalneſs of Country; From cheapneſs and eaſineſs of Carriage by convenience of Canals; From low Uſe,

and dearneſs of Land, which turn Money to Trade; the Inſtitution of Banks; Sale by Regiſtry; Care of Convoys; Smalneſs of Cuſtoms; Freedom of Ports; Order in Trade; Intereſt of Perſons in the Government; particular Traffick affected to particular Places; Application to the Fiſhery; and Acquiſitions in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

It is no conſtant Rule, That Trade, makes Riches; for there may be a Trade that impoveriſhes a Nation: As it is not going often to Market, that enriches the Country-man; but, on the contrary, if, every time he comes there, he buys to a greater value than he ſells, he grows the poorer, the oftner he goes: But the only and certain Scale of Riches, ariſing from Trade in a Nation, is the Proportion of what is exported for the Conſumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true ground of this Proportion lies in the general Induſtry and Parſimony of a People, or in the contrary of both. Induſtry encreaſes the Native Commodity, either in the Product of the Soil, or the Manufactures of the Country, which raiſes the Stock

for

for Exportation. Parſimony leſſens the conſumption of their own, as well as of Foreign, Commodities; and not only abates the Importation by the laſt, but encreaſes the Exportation by the firſt; for, of all Native Commodities, the leſs is conſumed in a Country, the more is exported abroad; there being no Commodity, but, at one Price or other, will find a Market, which they will be Maſters of, who can afford it cheapeſt: Such are always the moſt induſtrious and parſimonious People, who can thrive by Prices, upon which the Lazy and Expenſive cannot live.

The vulgar Miſtake, That Importation of Foreign Wares, if purchaſed abroad with Native Commodities, and not with Mony, does not make a Nation poorer, is but what every Man, that gives himſelf Leiſure to think, muſt immediately rectifie, by finding out, that, upon the end of an Account between a Nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the Exportation wants in value, to balance that of the Importation, muſt of neceſſity be made up with ready Mony.

By this we find out the Foundation

of the Riches of *Holland*, as of their Trade by the Circumſtances already rehearſed. For never any Country traded ſo much, and conſumed ſo little: They buy infinitely, but 'tis to ſell again, either upon Improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. They are the great Maſters of the *Indian* Spices, and of the *Perſian* Silks; but wear plain Woollen, and feed upon their own Fiſh and Roots. Nay, they ſell the fineſt of their own Cloth to *France*, and buy coarſe out of *England* for their own Wear. They ſend abroad the beſt of their own Butter, into all parts, and buy the cheapeſt out of *Ireland*, or the North of *England*, for their own uſe. In ſhort, they furniſh infinite Luxury, which they never practiſe; and traffick in Pleaſures, which they never taſte.

The Gentlemen and Officers of the Army change their Cloaths and their Modes like their Neighbours. But among the whole body of the Civil Magiſtrates, the Merchants, the rich Traders, and Citizens in general, the Faſhions continue ſtill the ſame; And others, as conſtant among the Sea-men and Boors: So that Men leave off their

their Clothes, only becauſe they are worn out, and not becauſe they are out of Faſhion.

Their great Foreign Conſumption is *French* Wine and Brandy; but that may be allow'd them, as the only Reward they enjoy of all their Pains, and as that alone, which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary Poverty, who would otherwiſe ſeem poor and wretched in their real Wealth. Beſides, what they ſpend in Wine, they ſave in Corn to make other Drinks, which is bought from Foreign Parts. And upon a preſſure of their Affairs, we ſee now for Two Years together, they have deny'd themſelves even this Comfort, among all their Sorrows, and made up in paſſive Fortitude, whatever they have wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going conſtantly out, either in Commodity, or in the Labour of Sea-faring-men; and little coming in to be conſumed at home; the reſt returns in Coin, and fills the Country to that degree, that more Silver is ſeen in *Holland*, among the common Hands and Purſes, than Braſs either in *Spain* or in *France*; though one be ſo rich in the beſt

Native

Native Commodities, and the other drain all the Treaſuries of the *Weſt-Indies*.

By all this Account of their Trade and Riches, it will appear, That ſome of our Maxims are not ſo certain, as they are current, in our common Politicks. As firſt, That Example and Encouragement of Exceſs and Luxury, if employ'd in the Conſumption of Native Commodities, is of Advantage to Trade: It may be ſo to that which impoveriſhes, but is not to that which enriches a Country; and is indeed leſs prejudicial, if it lye in Native, than in Foreign, Wares. But the Cuſtom, or Humour, of Luxury and Expence, cannot ſtop at certain Bounds: What begins in Native will proceed in Foreign Commodities: And though the Example ariſe among idle Perſons, yet the Imitation will run into all Degrees, even of thoſe Men by whoſe Induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts. And beſides, the more of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall have to ſend abroad; and ſo it will come to paſs, that while we drive a vaſt Trade, yet, by buying much more than we ſell, we ſhall come to be poor: Whereas when we drove

drove a very ſmall Traffick abroad, yet by ſelling ſo much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our Neighbours. This appear'd in *Edward* the Third's time, when we maintain'd ſo mighty Wars in *France*, and carry'd our victorious Arms into the Heart of *Spain*: Whereas, in the 28th Year of that King's Reign, the Value, and Cuſtom, of all our Exported Commodities, amounted to 294184 *l.*—17 *s.*—2 *d.* And that of Imported, but to 38970 *l.*—03 *s.*—6 *d.* So, as there muſt have enter'd that Year into the Kingdom in Coin, or Bullion, (or elſe have grown a Debt to the Nation) 255214 *l.*—13 *s.*—8 *d.* And yet we then carry'd out our Wools unwrought, and brought in a great part of our Cloaths from *Flanders*.

Another common Maxim is, That if, by any Foreign Invaſion, or Servitude, the State, and conſequently the Trade, of *Holland*, ſhould be ruin'd, the laſt would of courſe fall to our ſhare in *England*. Which is no conſequence: For it would certainly break into ſeveral pieces, and ſhift, either to us, to *Flanders*, to the *Hans Towns*, or any other Parts, according as the moſt of

thoſe

thoſe Circumſtances ſhould any where concur to invite it, (and the likeſt to ſuch,) as appear to have formerly drawn it into *Holland*, by ſo mighty a Confluence of People, and ſo general a Vein of Induſtry and Parſimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their Growth in Trade and Riches, by other ways than ſuch as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A Third is, That if that State were reduc'd to great Extremities, ſo as to become a Province to ſome greater Power, they would chuſe our Subjection rather than any other; or thoſe, at leaſt, that are the Maritime, and the richeſt of the Provinces. But it will be more reaſonably concluded, from all the former Diſcourſes, That though they may be divided by abſolute Conqueſts, they will never divide themſelves by conſent, but all fall one way, and, by common Agreement, make the beſt Terms they can for their Country, as a Province, if not as a State: And before they come to ſuch an Extremity, they will firſt ſeek to be admitted, as a *Belgic*-Circle, in the Empire,

Empire (which they were of old;) and thereby receive the Protection of that Mighty Body, which, (as far as great and ſmaller things may be compar'd) ſeems the likeſt their own State in its main Conſtitutions, but eſpecially in the Freedom or Sovereignty of the Imperial Cities. And this I have often heard their Miniſters ſpeak of, as their laſt Refuge, in caſe of being threaten'd by too ſtrong and fatal a Conjuncture.

And if this ſhould happen, the Trade of the Provinces would rather be preſerv'd or encreas'd, than any way broken or deſtroy'd by ſuch an Alteration of their State, becauſe the Liberties of the Country would continue what they are, and the Security would be greater than now it is.

The laſt I will mention is of another Vein; That if the Prince of *Orange* were made Soveraign of their Country, tho' by Foreign Arms, he would be a great Prince, becauſe this now appears to be ſo great a State. Whereas, on the contrary, thoſe Provinces would ſoon become a very mean Country. For ſuch a Power muſt be maintain'd by Force, as it would be acquir'd, and as indeed

indeed all abſolute Dominion muſt be in thoſe Provinces. This would raiſe general Diſcontents; and thoſe perpetual Seditions among the Towns, which would change the Orders of the Country, endanger the Property of Private Men, and ſhake the Credits and Safety of the Government: Whenever this ſhould happen, the People would ſcatter, Induſtry would faint, Banks would diſſolve, and Trade would decay to ſuch a degree, as probably, in courſe of time, their very Digues would be no longer maintained by the Defences of a weak People againſt ſo furious an Invader; but the Sea would break in upon their Land, and leave their chiefeſt Cities to be Fiſher-Towns, as they were of old.

Without any ſuch great Revolutions, I am of opinion, That Trade has, for ſome Years ago, paſt its Meridian, and begun ſenſibly to decay among them: Whereof there ſeem to be ſeveral Cauſes; as firſt, the general Application, that ſo many other Nations have made to it, within theſe two or three and twenty Years. For ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, which reſtored the Quiet of Chriſtendom in 1648, not

not only *Sueden* and *Denmark*, but *France* and *England*, have more particularly, than ever before, buſied the Thoughts and Counſels of their ſeveral Governments, as well as the Humours of their People, about the matters of Trade.

Nor has this happen'd without good degrees of Succeſs; though Kingdoms of ſuch Extent, that have other and Nobler Foundations of Greatneſs, cannot raiſe Trade to ſuch a Pitch as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a Man, who has a fair and plentiful Eſtate, can fall to Labour and Induſtry, like one that has nothing elſe to truſt to for the ſupport of his Life. But however, all theſe Nations have come of late to ſhare largely with them; and there ſeem to be grown too many Traders for Trade in the World, ſo as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous Village, the firſt Grocer, or Mercer, that ſets up among them, grows preſently rich, having all the Cuſtom; 'till another, encouraged by his Succeſs, comes to ſet up by him, and ſhare in his Gains; at length ſo many fall to the Trade, that nothing is got

got by it; and ſome muſt give over, or all muſt break.

Not many Ages paſt, *Venice* and *Florence* poſſeſs'd all the Trade of *Europe*; the laſt by their Manufactures; but the firſt by their Shipping: And the whole Trade of *Perſia* and the *Indies*, whoſe Commodities were brought (Thoſe by Land, and Theſe by the *Arabian*-Sea,) to *Egypt*, from whence they were fetch'd by the *Venetian* Fleets, and diſperſed into moſt of the parts of *Europe*: And in thoſe Times we find the whole Trade of *England* was driven by *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Lombards*. The *Eaſterlings*, who were the Inhabitants of the *Hans*-Towns, as *Dantzic*, *Lubeick*, *Hamburgh*, and others upon that Coaſt; fell next into Trade, and manag'd all that of theſe Northern parts for many Years, and brought it firſt down to *Bruges*, and from thence to *Antwerp*. The firſt Navigations of the *Portugueſes* to the *Eaſt-Indies* broke the Greatneſs of the *Venetian* Trade, and drew it to *Lisbon*: And the Revolt of the *Netherlands*, that of *Antwerp* to *Holland*. But in all this time, the other and greater Nations of *Europe* concern'd themſelves little

little in it; their Trade was War; their Counſels and Enterpriſes were buſied in the Quarrels of the *Holy Land*, or in thoſe between the Popes and the Emperors, (both of the ſame Forge, engaging all Chriſtian Princes, and ending in the greatneſs of the Eccleſiaſtical State throughout Chriſtendom:) Sometimes in the mighty Wars between *England* and *France*, between *France* and *Spain*: The more general, between *Chriſtians* and *Turks*; or more particular Quarrels between leſſer and neighbouring Princes. In ſhort, the Kingdoms and Principalities were in the World like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a Country; the Free-States and Cities, like the Merchants and Traders: Theſe at firſt deſpis'd by the others; the others ſerv'd and rever'd by them; 'till by the various courſe of Events in the World, ſome of theſe came to grow Rich and Powerful by Induſtry and Parſimony; and ſome of the others, Poor by War and by Luxury: Which made the Traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a fancy of falling to Trade. By this ſhort account it will

appear no wonder, either that particular Places grew ſo Rich, and ſo Mighty, while they alone enjoy'd almoſt the general Trade of the World; nor why not only the Trade in *Holland*, but the Advantage of it in general, ſhould ſeem to be leſſen'd by ſo many that ſhare it.

Another Cauſe of its Decay in that State, may be, that, by the mighty Progreſs of their *Eaſt-India* Company, the Commodities of that Country are grown more than theſe parts of the World can take off; and conſequently, the Rates of them muſt needs be leſſened, while the Charge is encreas'd by the great Wars, the Armies, and Forts, neceſſary to maintain, or extend, the Acquiſitions of that Company, in the *Indies*. For, inſtead of Five, or Six, *Eaſt-India* Ships, which uſed to make the Fleet of the Year, they are now riſen to Eighteen or Twenty, (I think Two and Twenty came in one Year to the *United Provinces*.) This is the reaſon, why the particular Perſons of that Company in *Holland*, make not ſo great Advantage of the ſame Stock, as thoſe of ours do in *England*; though their Company be very much richer,

and

and drives a far greater Trade than ours, which is exhauſted by no Charge of Armies, or Forts, or Ships of War: And this is the Reaſon, that the *Dutch* are forced to keep ſo long and ſo much of thoſe Commodities in their Magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the Markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring ſo much leſs from the *Indies*, than they were able to do, if there were Vent enough here: As I remember, one of their Sea-men, newly landed out of their *Eaſt-India* Fleet, in the Year 69, upon Diſcourſe in a Boat between *Delf* and *Leyden*, ſaid, he had ſeen, before he came away, three heaps of Nutmegs burnt at a time, each of which was more than a ſmall Church could hold, which he pointed at in a Village that was in ſight.

Another Cauſe may be, the great cheapneſs of Corn, which has been for theſe Dozen Years, or more, general in all theſe Parts of *Europe*, and which has a very great Influence upon the Trade of *Holland*. For a great Vent of *Indian* Commodities, (at leaſt the Spices which are the groſs of them) uſed to be made into the Northern

parts of *Europe*, in Exchange for Corn, while it was taken off at good rates by the Markets of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; in all which Countries it has of late Years gone ſo low, as to diſcourage the Import of ſo great Quantities, as uſed to come from *Poland* and *Pruſſia*, and other parts of the North. Now the leſs Value thoſe Nations receive for Corn, the leſs they are able to give for Spice, which is a great Loſs to the *Dutch* on both ſides, leſſening the Vent of their *Indian* Ware in the Northern, and the Traffick of Corn in the Southern parts. The cauſe of this great cheapneſs of Corn ſeems to be, not ſo much a courſe of plentiful and ſeaſonable Years, as the general Peace that has been in *Europe* ſince the Year 59 or 60, by which ſo many Men and ſo much Land have been turned to Husbandry, that were before employed in the Wars, or lay waſted by them in all the Frontier-Provinces of *France* and *Spain*, as well as throughout *Germany*, before the Peace of *Munſter*; and in *England*, during the Actions or Conſequences of a Civil War: And Plenty grows not to a height, but by the Succeſſion of ſeveral peaceful

ful, as well as ſeaſonable, Years.

The laſt Clauſe I will mention, is, the mighty Enlargement of the City of *Amſterdam*, by that which is called the *New Town*; the Extent whereof is ſo ſpacious, and the Buildings of ſo much greater Beauty and Coſt than the Old, that it muſt have employ'd a vaſt Proportion of that Stock which in this City was before wholly turned to Trade. Beſides there ſeems to have been growing on for theſe later Years, a greater Vie of Luxury and Expence among many of the Merchants of that Town, than was ever formerly known: Which was obſerved and complained of, as well as the Enlargement of their City, by ſome of the wiſeſt of their Miniſters, while I reſided among them, who deſigned ſome Regulations by Sumptuary Laws; as knowing the very Foundations of their Trade would ſoon be undermined, if the habitual Induſtry, Parſimony, and Simplicity of their People, came to be over-run by Luxury, Idleneſs, and Exceſs. However it happen'd, I found it agreed by all the moſt diligent and circumſpect Enquiries I could make, that in the Years 69 and 70, there was

hardly any Foreign Trade among them, beſides that of the *Indies*, by which the Traders made the Returns of their Mony, without Loſs; and none, by which the common Gain was above Two or Three in the Hundred. So, as it ſeems to be with Trade, as with the Sea, (its Element,) that has a certain pitch, above which it never riſes in the higheſt Tides; and begins to Ebb, as ſoon as ever it ceaſes to Flow; and ever loſes ground in one place, proportionably to what it gains in another.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of their* FORCES *and* REVENUES.

THE Strength, and Forces, of a Kingdom, or State, were meaſured, in former Ages, by the Numbers of Native and Warlike Subjects, which they could draw into the Field, upon any War with their Neighbours. National Quarrels were decided by National Armies, not by Stipendiary Forces, (raiſed with Mony, or maintained by conſtant Pay.) In the ſeveral Kingdoms and Principalities of *Europe*, the Bodies of their Armies were compoſed, as they are ſtill in *Poland*, of the Nobility and Gentry, who were bound to attend their Princes to the Wars, with certain Numbers of Armed Men, according to the Tenure and Extent of the ſeveral Lordſhips, and Lands, they held of the Crown: Where theſe were not proportionable to the Occaſion, the reſt were made up of Subjects drawn together by Love of their Prince,

or their Country: By deſire of Conqueſt and Spoils, or neceſſity of Defence: Held together by Allegiance or Religion; and ſpirited by Honour, Revenge, or Avarice (not of what they could get from their Leaders, but from their Enemies.) A Battel or Two, fairly fought, decided a War; and a War ended the Quarrel of an Age, and either loſt or gain'd the Cauſe or Country contended for: 'Till the change of Times and Accidents brought it to a new Deciſion; 'till the Virtues and Vices of Princes made them ſtronger or weaker, either in the Love and Obedience of their People, or in ſuch Orders and Cuſtoms as render'd their Subjects more or leſs Warlike or Effeminate. Standing-Forces or Guards in conſtant Pay, were no where us'd by lawful Princes in their Native or Hereditary Countries, but only by Conquerors in ſubdued Provinces, or Uſurpers at home; and were a Defence only againſt Subjects, not againſt Enemies.

Theſe Orders ſeem firſt to have been changed in *Europe* by the Two States of *Venice* and *Holland:* Both of them ſmall in Territories at Land, and thoſe extended

extended in Frontier upon powerful Neighbours; both of them weak in number of Native Subjects; and those less warlike at Land, by turning so much to Traffick, and to Sea: But both of them mighty in Riches and Trade; which made them endeavour to balance their Neighbours Strength in Native Subjects, by Foreign Stipendiary Bands: and to defend their Frontiers by the Arts of Fortification, and Strength of Places, which might draw out a War into length by Sieges, when they durst not venture it upon a Battel; and so make it many times determine by force of Mony, rather than of Arms. This forced those Princes, who frontier'd upon these States, to the same Provisions; which have been encreas'd by the perpetual course of Wars, upon the Continent of *Europe*, ever since the Rise of this State, until the Peace of the *Pirenees*, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and so, ready for sudden Inroads or Invasions.

The Force therefore of these Provinces is to be measur'd, not by the Number or Dispositions of their Subjects, but by the Strength of their Shipping,

ping, and ſtanding-Troops, which they conſtantly maintain, even in time of Peace; and by the Numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the Field, and to Sea, for Support of a War: By their conſtant Revenue to maintain the firſt; and by the temporary Charge, they have been able to furniſh, for Supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their Frontier Towns, (which is a common Theme,) or the Forces neceſſary for the Garriſons of them. Nor the Nature and Variety of their Taxes and Impoſitions, though I have an exact Liſt of them by me, expreſſing the ſeveral Kinds, Rates, and Proportions, upon every Province and Town: But this would ſwell a Diſcourſe, with a great deal of tedious matter, and to little purpoſe. I ſhall therefore be content only to obſerve, what I have informed my ſelf of their Forces, and Revenues in general, from Perſons among them, the beſt able to give that Account.

The ordinary Revenue of this State conſiſts, either in what is levied in the conquered Towns, and Country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*; which is wholly adminiſter'd by the Council of

of State: Or elſe, the ordinary Fonds, which the Seven Provinces provide every Year according to their ſeveral Proportions, upon the Petition of the Council of State, and Computation of the Charge of the enſuing Year, given in by them to the States-General. And this Revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty Millions of Gilders a Year; every Million making about Ninety Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, intrinſick Value.

The chief Fonds out of which this riſes, is, the Exciſe and the Cuſtoms: The firſt is great, and ſo general, that I have heard it obſerv'd at *Amſterdam*, That when in a Tavern, a certain Diſh of Fiſh is eaten with the uſual Sawce, above Thirty ſeveral Exciſes are paid, for what is neceſſary to that ſmall Service. The laſt are low and eaſie, and apply'd particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this Revenue is ſupply'd the Charge of the whole Milice, of all Publick Officers of the State, and Ambaſſadors, or Miniſters abroad, and the Intereſt of about Thirteen Millions owing by the States-General.

The Standing-Forces in the Year 70, upon

upon ſo general a Peace, and after all Reformations, were Twenty Six Thouſand Two Hundred Men, in Ten Regiments of Horſe, conſiſting of Fifty Troops; and Nineteen of Foot, conſiſting of Three Hundred and Eighty Companies. The conſtant charge of theſe Forces ſtood them in Six Millions One Hundred and Nineteen Thouſand Gilders a Year.

Their Admiralties, in time of Peace, maintain between Thirty and Forty Men of War, employ'd in the ſeveral Convoys of their Merchants Fleets, in a Squadron of Eight or Ten Ships to attend the *Algerines* and other *Corſairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and ſome always lying ready in their Havens for any ſudden Accidents or Occaſions of the State. The common Expence of the Admiralties in this Equipage, and the Built of Ships, is about Six Millions a Year.

Beſides the Debt of the Generalty, the Province of *Holland* owes about Sixty Five Millions, for which they pay Intereſt at Four in the Hundred; but with ſo great Eaſe and Exactneſs both in Principal and Intereſt, that no Man ever demands it twice; they might take

take up whatever Mony they desir'd. Whoever is admitted to bring in his Mony, takes it for a great deal of Favour; and when they pay off any part of the Principal, those, it belongs to, receive it with Tears, not knowing how to dispose of it to Interest, with such Safety and Ease. And the common Revenue of particular Men lies much in the Cantores, either of the Generality, or the several Provinces, which are the Registries of these publick Debts.

Of the several Imposts and Excises, those that are upon certain, and immovable Possessions (as Houses and Lands) are collected by the Magistrates of the several Places, and by them paid in to the Receivers, because both the Number and Value of them are constant, and easily known. Those which arise out of uncertain Consumptions, are all set out to Farm; and to him that bids most, some every Three Months, some every Six, and some yearly.

The Collection, Receipt and Distribution of all Publick Monies, are made, without any Fee to Officers, who receive certain constant Salaries from the State, which they dare not

encrease

encreaſe by any private Practices, or Extortions: So, whoever has a Bill of any publick Debt, has ſo much ready Mony in his Coffers, being paid certainly at call, without charge or trouble; and aſſign'd over in any Payment, like the beſt Bill of Exchange.

The extraordinary Revenue is, when upon ſome great Occaſions, or Wars, the Generality agrees to any extraordinary Contributions: As ſometimes the Hundredth Penny of the Eſtates of all the Inhabitants; Pole, or Chimney-mony; or any other Subſidies, and Payments, according as they can agree, and the Occaſions require; which have ſometime reach'd ſo far, as even to an Impoſition upon every Man that travels in the common Ways of their Country, by Boat, or in a Coach; in Wagon, or on Horſeback.

By all theſe means, in the firſt Year of the *Engliſh* War, in 1665, there were raiſed in the Provinces, Forty Millions, of which Twenty Two in the Province of *Holland*. And upon the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s invading them, at the ſame time by Land, they had in the Year 66, above Threeſcore Thouſand Land-men in Pay; and a Fleet of

of above an Hundred Men of War at Sea.

The Greatneſs of this Nation, at that time, ſeems juſtly to have rais'd the Glory of ours; which, during the Years 65 and 66, maintained a War, not only againſt this Powerful State, but againſt the Crowns of *France* and *Denmark*, in Conjunction with them: And all, at a time, when this Kingdom was forced to ſtruggle at home with the calamitous Effects of a raging Plague, that, in Three Months of the firſt Year, ſwept away incredible numbers of People; and of a prodigious Fire, that, in Three Days of the ſecond, laid in Aſhes that Ancient and Famous City of *LONDON*, (the Heart and Center of our Commerce and Riches,) conſuming the greateſt part of its Buildings, and an immenſe Proportion of its Wealth. Yet, in the midſt of theſe fatal Accidents, thoſe Two Summers were renowned with Three Battels of the mightieſt Fleets that ever met upon the Ocean; whereof Two were determined by entire and unqueſtion'd Victories, and Purſuit of our Enemies into their very

very Havens. The Third having begun by the unfortunate Diviſion of our Fleet, with the odds of Ninety of their Ships againſt Fifty of ours; and, in ſpight of ſuch Diſadvantages, having continued, or been renewed for Three Days together (wherein we were every Morning the Aggreſſors,) ended at laſt by the equal and mutual Weakneſs and Wearineſs of both Sides, the Maims of Ships and Tackling, with Want of Powder and Ammunition: Having left undecided the greateſt Action that will perhaps appear upon Record of any Story. And in this Battel, *Monſieur de Wit* confeſs'd to me, That we gain'd more Honour to our Nation, and to the invincible Courage of our Sea-men, than by the other Two Victories. That he was ſure, their Men could never have been brought on the two following Days, after the Diſadvantages of the firſt; and he believ'd no other Nation was capable of it, but Ours.

I will not judge, how we came to fail of a glorious Peace in the Six Months next ſucceeding, after the for-

fortune of our laſt Victory, and with the Honour of the War: But as any rough Hand can break a Bone, whereas much Art and Care are required to ſet it again, and reſtore it to its firſt Strength and Proportion: So 'tis an eaſie part in a Miniſter of State, to engage a War; but 'tis given to few to know the Times, and find the Ways, of making Peace. Yet when after the ſenſible Events of an unfortunate Negligence, an indifferent Treaty was concluded at *Breda* in 67; within Six Months following, by an Alliance with this State in *January*, 1668. (which was receiv'd with incredible Joy and Applauſe among them,) His Majeſty became the unqueſtioned Arbiter of all the Affairs of Chriſtendom; made a Peace between the two Great Crowns, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was avowed by all the World, to be perfectly His Own; and was received with equal Applauſe of Chriſtian Princes abroad, and of his Subjects at home; and for Three Years ſucceeding, by the unſhaken Alliance and Dependance of the United States, His Majeſty remained

mained Abſolute Maſter of the Peace of Chriſtendom, and in a Poſture of giving Bounds to the greateſt, as well as Protection to the weakeſt, of his Neighbours.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *The Cauſes of their* FALL, *in* 1672.

IT muſt be avowed, That as This State, in the Courſe and Progreſs of its Greatneſs for ſo many Years paſt, has ſhined like a Comet; ſo in the Revolutions of this laſt Summer, It ſeem'd to fall like a Meteor, and has equally amazed the World by the one and the other: When we conſider ſuch a Power and Wealth, as was related in the laſt Chapter, to have fallen in a manner proſtrate within the ſpace of One Month: So many Frontier Towns, renowned in the Sieges and Actions of the *Spaniſh* Wars, enter'd like open Villages by the *French* Troops, without Defence or almoſt Denial: Moſt of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with ſo few: Their great Rivers, that were eſteemed an invincible Security to the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, paſſed with as much Eaſe, and as ſmall Reſiſt-

ances, as little Fords: And in ſhort, the very hearts of a Nation ſo valiant of old againſt *Rome*, ſo obſtinate againſt *Spain*, now ſubdued, and, in a manner, abandoning all before their Danger appear'd: We may juſtly have our Recourſe to the ſecret and fixed periods of all Human Greatneſs, for the Account of ſuch a Revolution: Or rather, to the unſearchable Decrees, and irreſiſtible Force, of Divine Providence; though it ſeems not more impious to queſtion it, than to meaſure it by our Scale; or reduce the Iſſues and Motions of that Eternal Will and Power, to a Conformity with what is eſteemed Juſt, or Wiſe, or Good, by the uſual Conſent, or the narrow Comprehenſion of poor Mortal Men.

But, as in the ſearch, and conſideration, even of things natural and common, our Talent, I fear, is to Talk rather than to Know; ſo we may be allow'd to Enquire and Reaſon upon all things, while we do not pretend to Certainty, or call that Undeniable Truth, which is every Day deny'd by Ten Thouſand; nor thoſe Opinions Unreaſonable, which we know to be held by ſuch, as we allow to be Reaſonable

ſonable Men, I ſhall therefore ſet down ſuch Circumſtances, as to me ſeem moſt evidently to have conſpired in this Revolution; leaving the Cauſes leſs diſcernible, to the ſearch of more diſcerning Perſons.

And firſt, I take their vaſt Trade, which was an Occaſion of their Greatneſs, to have been One likewiſe of their Fall, by having wholly diverted the Genius of their Native Subjects, and Inhabitants, from Arms, to Traffick, and the Arts of Peace; leaving the whole Fortune of their later Wars, to be managed by Foreign and Mercenary Troops; which much abaſed the Courage of their Nation, (as was obſerved in another Chapter,) and made the Burghers of ſo little moment towards the Defence of their Towns; whereas in the famous Sieges of *Harlem*, *Alcmar*, and *Leyden*, They had made ſuch brave and fierce Defences, as broke the Heart of the *Spaniſh* Armies, and the Fortune of their Affairs.

Next, was the Peace of *Munſter*, which had left them now, for above Twenty Years, too ſecure of all Invaſions, or Enemies at Land; and ſo

turn'd their whole Application to the Strength of their Forces at Sea; which have been ſince exerciſed with two *Engliſh* Wars in that time, and enlivened with the ſmall yearly Expeditions into the *Streights* againſt the *Algerines*, and other *Corſairs* of the *Mediterranean*.

Another was, their too great Parſimony, in Reforming ſo many of their beſt Foreign Officers and Troops, upon the Peace of *Munſter*; whoſe Valour and Conduct had been ſo great Occaſions of inducing *Spain* to the Counſels and Concluſions of that Treaty.

But the greateſt of all others, that concurr'd to weaken, and indeed break, the ſtrength of their Land-Milice, was, the Alteration of their State, which happen'd by the *Perpetual Edict* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland*, upon the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange*, for Excluſion of the Power of Stadtholder in their Province, or at leaſt the Separation of it from the Charge of Captain-General. Since that time, the main Deſign and Application of thoſe Provinces, has been, to work out, by degrees, all the old Officers, both Native and Foreign, who had been for-

formerly Sworn to the Prince of *Orange*, and were ſtill thought affectionate to the Intereſt of that Family; and to fill the Commands of their Army, with the Sons, or Kinſmen, of Burgomaſters, and other Officers, or Deputies in the State, whom they eſteem'd ſure to the Conſtitutions of their Popular Government, and good enough for an Age, where they ſaw no Appearance of Enemy at Land to attack 'em.

But the Humour of Kindneſs to the young Prince, both in the People, and Army, was not to be diſſolved, or diſperſed, by any Medicines, or Operations, either of Rigour or Artifice; but grew up inſenſibly, with the Age of the Prince, ever preſaging ſome Revolution in the State, when he ſhould come to the Years of aſpiring, and managing the general Affections of the People; being a Prince, who joined to the great Qualities of his Royal Blood, the popular Virtues of his Country; Silent and Thoughtful; given to Hear, and to Enquire; of a ſound and ſteady Underſtanding; much Firmneſs in what he once reſolves, or once denies; great Induſtry and Application to his Buſineſs, little to his

Pleaſures; Piety in the Religion of his Country, but with Charity to others; Temperance unuſual to his Youth, and to the Climate; Frugal in the common management of his Fortune, and yet Magnificent upon Occaſion; of great Spirit and Heart, aſpiring to the Glory of Military Actions, with ſtrong Ambition to grow Great, but rather by the Service, than the Servitude, of his Country. In ſhort, A Prince of many Virtues, without any appearing mixture of Vice.

In the *Engliſh* War, begun the Year 65. the States disbanded all the *Engliſh* Troops that were then left in their Service, diſperſing the Officers and Soldiers of our Nation, who ſtaid with them, into other Companies, or Regiments, of their own. After the *French* Invaſion of *Flanders*, and the ſtrict Alliance between *England* and *Holland* in 68. they did the ſame by all the *French* that were remaining in their Service. So as the ſeveral Bodies of theſe two Nations, which had ever the greateſt part in the Honour and Fortune of their Wars, were now wholly diſſolv'd, and their ſtanding-Milice compoſed in a manner, all of their own Natives, ener-

enervated by the long Uſes and Arts of Traffick, and of Peace.

But they were too great a Match for any of the ſmaller Princes their Neighbours in *Germany*; and too ſecure of any Danger from *Spain*, by the knowledge of their Forces, as well as Diſpoſitions; and being ſtrictly Allied both with *England* and *Sueden*, in Two ſeveral Defenſive Leagues, and in one common Triple Alliance; they could not foreſee any Danger from *France*, who, they thought, would never have the Courage, or Force, to enter the Liſts with ſo mighty Confederates; and who were ſure of a Conjunction, whenever they pleaſed, both with the Emperor and *Spain*.

Beſides, they knew that *France* could not attack them, without paſſing through *Flanders*, or *Germany*: They were ſure *Spain* would not ſuffer it through the firſt, if they were back'd in oppoſing it, as foreſeeing the inevitable Loſs of *Flanders*, upon that of *Holland*: And they could hardly believe, the Paſſage ſhould be yielded by a *German* Prince, contrary to the expreſs Will and Intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common Intereſts

of

of the Empire: So that they hop'd the War would, at leaſt, open in their Neighbours Provinces, for whoſe Defence they reſolv'd to employ the whole Force of their State. And would have made a mighty Reſiſtance, if the Quarrel had begun at any other Doors, but their own.

They could not imagine a Conjunction between *England* and *France*, for the Ruin of their State; for, being unacquainted with our Conſtitutions, they did not foreſee, how we ſhould find our Intereſt in it, and meaſured all States, by that which They eſteemed to be their Intereſt. Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States of *Europe* would ſuffer ſuch an Addition to be made to the Power of *France*, as a Conqueſt of *Holland*.

Beſides theſe publick Conſiderations, there were others particular to the Factions among them: And ſome of their Miniſters were neither forward nor ſupple enough to endeavour the early breaking, or diverting, ſuch Conjunctures, as threaten'd them; becauſe they were not without Hopes, they might end in renewing their broken Meaſures with *France*; which thoſe of the

the Commonwealth-Party were more enclin'd to, by foreſeeing the Influence that their Alliances with *England* muſt needs have in time, towards the reſtoring of the Prince of *Orange*'s Authority: And they thought at the worſt, that whenever a pinch came, they could not fail of a ſafe Bargain in one Market or other, having ſo vaſt a Treaſure ready to employ upon any good Occaſion.

Theſe Conſiderations made them commit Three fatal Overſights in their Foreign Negotiations: For they made an Alliance with *England*, without engaging a Confidence and Friendſhip: They broke their meaſures with *France*, without cloſing new ones with *Spain*: And they reckon'd upon the Aſſiſtances of *Sweden*, and their Neighbour-Princes of *Germany*, without making them ſure by Subſidiary Advances, before a War began.

Laſtly, the Prince of *Orange* was approaching the Two and Twentieth Year of his Age, which the States of *Holland* had, ſince their Alliance with His Majeſty in 1668, ever pretended, ſhould be the time of advancing him to the Charge of Captain-General, and Admiral

Admiral of their Forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this Period, which was like to make a new Figure in their Government; the more deſirous ſome of their Miniſters ſeemed, either to decline, or to reſtrain it. On the other ſide, the Prince grew confident upon the former Promiſes, or, at leaſt, Intimations, of *Holland*, and the concurring Diſpoſitions of the other Six Provinces to his Advancement: And his Party, ſpirited by their hopes, and the great Qualities of this young Prince, (now grown ripe for Action, and for Enterprize,) reſolv'd to bring this point to a ſudden Deciſion; againſt which, the other Party prepar'd, and united all their Defences; ſo, as this ſtrong Diſeaſe, that had been ſo long working in the very Bowels of the State, ſeem'd juſt upon its *Criſis*; when a Conjunction of Two mighty Kings brought upon them a ſudden and furious Invaſion by Land and Sea, at the ſame time, by a Royal Fleet, of above Fourſcore Ships; and an Army, of as many Thouſand Men.

When the States ſaw this Cloud ready to break upon them, (after a long belief

lief, that it would blow over,) they began, not only to provide ſhelter at home, with their uſual Vigour; but to look out for it abroad, tho' both too late. Of the Princes that were their Allies, or concern'd in their Danger, ſuch as were far off could not be in time; the nearer were unwilling to ſhare in a danger they were not enough prepar'd for; moſt were content to ſee the Pride of this State humbled; ſome, the Injuries, they had receiv'd from them, reveng'd; many would have them mortify'd, that would not have them deſtroy'd; and ſo all reſolv'd to leave them to weather the Storm, as they could, for one *Campania*; which, they did not believe, could go far towards their Ruin, conſidering the greatneſs of their Riches, number of their Force, and Strength of their Places.

The State, in the mean time, had encreas'd their Troops to Seventy Thouſand Men, and had begun to repair the Fortifications of their Frontier Towns: But ſo great a length of their Country lay open to the *French* Invaſion, by the Territories of *Colen* and *Liege*; and to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, (their inveterate Enemy,) by *Weſtphalia*, that they

they knew not where to expect, or provide againſt, the firſt Danger: And while they divided their Forces and Endeavours towards the ſecuring of ſo many Garriſons, they provided for none to any purpoſe but *Maeſtricht*; which the *French* left behind them, and fell in upon the Towns of the *Rhine*, and the Heart of their Provinces.

Beſides, Thoſe Miniſters, who had ſtill the Direction of Affairs, bent their chief Application to the Strength and Order of their Fleet, rather than of their Army: Whether more peck'd at *England* than *France*, upon the War and manner of entring into it; Or, believing that a Victory at Sea would be the way to a Peace with this Crown; Or, hoping their Towns would not fall ſo faſt, but that, before Three or Four were loſt, the Buſineſs at Sea would be decided; Or, perhaps content, that ſome ill Succeſſes ſhould attend the Prince of *Orange* at his firſt Entrance upon the Command of their Armies, and thereby contribute to their Deſigns of reſtaining his Authority, while they were forced to leave him the Name of Captain-General. This, indeed, was not likely

likely to fail, conſidering the ill Conſtitution of their old Army, the haſty Levies of their new, and the height of the Factions now broken out in the State; which left both the Towns and the Troops in ſuſpence, under whoſe Banners they fought, and by whoſe Orders they were to be govern'd, the Prince's, or the States.

There happen'd, at the ſame time, an Accident unuſual to their Climate, which was a mighty Drowth in the Beginning of the Summer, that left their Waters fordable in places, where they us'd to be navigable for Boats of greateſt Burthen. And this gave them more Trouble and Diſtraction in the Defence, as their Enemies more Facility in the Paſſage, of thoſe great Rivers, which were eſteem'd no ſmall Security of their Country.

And in this poſture were the Affairs of this Commonwealth, when the War broke out, with thoſe fatal Events, that muſt needs attend any Kingdom, or State, where the Violence of a Foreign Invaſion happens to meet with the diſtracted eſtate of a Domeſtick Sedition or Diſcontent, which, like ill Humours in a Body, make any ſmall Wound dangerous,

gerous, and a great one mortal. They were ſtill a great Body, but without their uſual Soul; they were a State, but it was of the *Diſ-united Provinces*. Their Towns were without Order; their Burgers without Obedience; their Soldiers without Diſcipline; and all without Heart: Whereas, in all Sieges, the Hearts of Men defend the Walls, and not Walls the Men: And, indeed, it was the Name of *England*, joining in the War againſt them, that broke their Hearts, and contributed more to the loſs of ſo many Towns, and ſo much Country, than the Armies of *Munſter*, or of *France*. So that, upon all Circumſtances conſider'd, it ſeems eaſier to give an Account, what it was that loſt them ſo much, than what ſav'd them the reſt.

No Man at play ſees a very great Game, either in his own, or another's, Hand, unexpectedly loſt, but he is apt to conſider, whether it could have been ſaved, and how it ought to have been play'd. The ſame Enquiry will be natural upon the Fall of this State, and very difficult to reſolve.

After the mighty Growth of the *French*, and Decay of the *Spaniſh* Power, which

which drew on the Invaſion of *Flanders* in 1667. This State had a very hard Game to play; either they muſt ſee *Flanders* wholly loſt, and *France* grown to confine upon them, (whom they liked as an Ally, but dreaded as a Neighbour:) Or elſe, they muſt join with *France* to divide *Flanders* between them; but they knew what it was to ſhare with the Lion: Or, they muſt join with *Spain* to defend *Flanders* againſt *France*, that is, with their old Enemy, againſt their old Friend: Or laſtly, They muſt join with *England* for the Defence of *Flanders*; neither breaking with *France*, nor cloſing with *Spain*; and frame an Arbitrage, but of ſomething a rough Nature; rather preſcribing than mediating a Peace, and threatning a War upon that Crown that refus'd it.

They choſe the laſt, and wiſely, as all Men thought; but though this Alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, and ſo the Fruit came to fall, and the Root to wither upon the firſt change of Seaſons, in ſuch a manner, and to ſuch a degree, as we have lately ſeen. Whether they could have prevented a Conjunction

of *England* with *France*, ſhall be no part of my Subject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell, Secrets of State; and intend theſe, not for the Obſervations of an Ambaſſador, but of a private Man as I am, and ſuch as any Gentleman might eaſily have made, who had reſided above Two Years, as I did, in *Holland*; and had been, as I was, a little enclin'd to obſerve. I ſhall only ſay, That the Conjunction of *England* with *France* was to this State, like one of thoſe Diſeaſes, which, the Phyſicians ſay, are hard to diſcern, while they are eaſie to cure; but when once they come to be plainly diſcover'd, they are paſt remedy.

But, as *Holland* had ever defended it ſelf againſt *Spain*, by *England* and *France*; ſo it ought to have done againſt *France*, by *England* and *Spain*, and provided early againſt their own Danger, as well as that of *Flanders*, by improving and advancing their Confederate League with *England* and *Sueden*, into a ſtrict Defenſive-Alliance with *Spain*, as a Principal in the League. And by agreeing with that Crown, to furniſh between them ſome conſtant Subſidiary Payments to *Sueden*, for the ſup-

ſupport of their ſtanding Forces, even in time of Peace. This was the deſire of *Spain*, the Intereſt of all that meant to ſecure the Peace of Chriſtendom; and the Opinion of ſome of the *Dutch* Miniſters, though not of the Chiefeſt, 'till it was too late: And the Omiſſion of this, was the greateſt Fault ever committed in their Politicks; and proceeded in a great meaſure from their ancient Animoſity to *Spain*; which, as it was the Beginning, ſo, by this Effect, it almoſt prov'd the End of their State.

When the War began in the midſt of the Conjunctures related, 'tis hard to ſay, what could have defended them: But as Men in a Town, threaten'd with a mighty Siege, abandon their Suburbs, and ſlight thoſe Out-works which are either weak of themſelves, or not well defenſible for want of Men; and reſolve only to make good thoſe Poſts which they are able fully to Man, and eaſily to relieve; becauſe the loſs of every ſmall Out-work does not only weaken the Number, but ſink the Courage, of the Garriſon within.

So this State, which came to be in a manner beſieg'd by the mighty and

numerous Armies of *France* and of *Munſter*, ought, in my Opinion, to have left themſelves but Three Outworks to maintain; (I mean, Three Poſts ſtanding without the Lines, that enclo-ſed the main Body of their Provinces:) Theſe ſhould have been *Maeſtricht*, *Weſel* and *Coeverden*. They ſhould have ſlighted all the reſt of their places, that lay without theſe upon the *Rhine*, or in *Overyſſel*; and drawn the Men into theſe Towns, ſo as to have left them rather like Camps, than Garriſons; that is, Eight Thouſand Foot, and Two Thouſand Horſe in *Maeſtricht*, as many in *Weſel*, and half the number in *Coeverden*, if the place would contain them; if not, they might have form'd and fortify'd a Camp, with ſomething a greater number, upon the next Paſs into *Friezland* and *Groninguen*.

Of the reſt of their Horſe, (which were, I ſuppoſe, about Five Thouſand) with at leaſt Fifteen Thouſand Foot, they ſhould have form'd a great ſtanding Camp, within their Rivers, ſomewhere near *Arnhem*; fortify'd it with Cannon, and all the Art that could be; furniſh'd it with the greateſt care, and plenty of Proviſions. The remainder

of

of their Infantry would have been enough for the reſt of their Garriſons; of which the Towns upon the *Yſſel*, *Doesburgh*, *Zutphen*, *Daventer*, and *Swoll*, would have been in a manner flank'd (tho' at ſome diſtance) by the ſtrong Garriſons of *Weſel* and *Coeverden*; and breaſted by the main Camp.

If, with this Diſpoſition of their Forces, they had provided well for the Strength and Defence of *Skinkſconce*, *Nimmeguen* and *Grave*, (which would likewiſe have lain within all the Cover of theſe Out-Poſts:) They might, for ought I know, have expected the War without loſing the Heart and Steadineſs of their Counſels, and not without probability of making a Defence worthy the former Greatneſs and Atchievements of their State.

For a Siege of *Maeſtricht* or *Weſel* (ſo garriſon'd and reſolutely defended,) might not only have amus'd, but endanger'd, the *French* Armies; as *Coeverden* might have done that of *Munſter*.

The Reſiſtance of one of theſe Towns would have encreas'd the Strength of all the reſt: For the Fortune of Battels, and Sieges, turns upon the Hearts of Men, as they are more or leſs capable

ble of general Confidences or Fears, which are very much rais'd by Accidents and Opinions. It would not have been within any common Rules, to march ſo far into the Country, as to attack the *Barſe* or *Breda*, *Nimmeguen* or *Grave*, leaving ſuch Camps behind, as thoſe at *Weſel* and *Maeſtricht*, and having ſo much a greater before them, as that about *Arnhem*. If any of theſe Three Poſts had been loſt, yet it could not have happen'd without good Conditions, and ſo retiring the Men to ſtrengthen either the more inward Garriſons, or the main Camp, which would have lain ready to defend the Paſſes of their Rivers. And if, at the worſt, they had fail'd in this, yet the *French* Army muſt afterwards, either have attacked a fortify'd Camp of Twenty Thouſand Men, or left ſuch an Army behind them, when they march'd towards *Utrecht*, and into the Heart of the Provinces; both of which would have been Attempts, that, I think, have hardly been enterpriz'd with Succeſs upon any Invaſion.

There ſeems at leaſt ſome appearance of Order and Conduct in this Scheme of Defence; whereas there was

was none, in theirs: But perhaps the greatneſs of the Tempeſt from aboard, and of the Factions at home, either broke the Heart, or diſtracted the Courſe, of their Counſels. And beſides, ſuch old Sea-men in ſo ſtrong a Ship, that had weather'd ſo many Storms without loſs, could not but think it hard, to throw over-board ſo much of their Lading before this began. After all, I know very well, that nothing is ſo hard, as to give wiſe Counſel before Events; and nothing ſo eaſie, as, after them, to make wiſe Reflections. Many things ſeem true in Reaſon, and prove falſe in Experience: Many, that are weakly conſulted, are executed with Succeſs. Therefore, to conclude, we muſt all acknowledge, that Wiſdom and Happineſs dwell with God alone; and, among Mortal Men, (both of their Perſons and their States,) thoſe are the wiſeſt, that commit the feweſt Follies; and thoſe the happieſt, that meet with the feweſt Misfortunes.

*FINIS.*

PR
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM